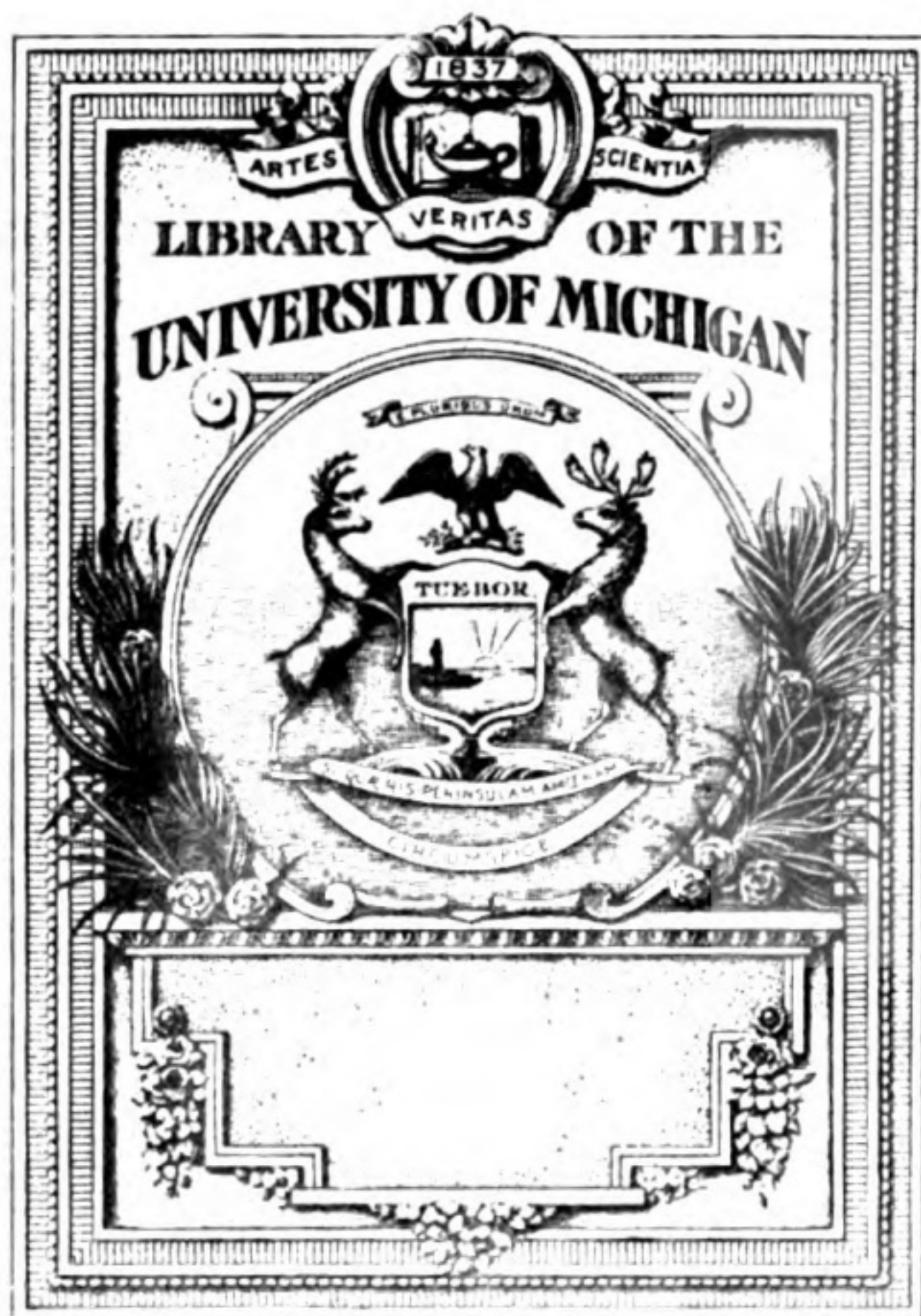


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JUIN 1923

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*Recueil consacré à l'étude des langues, des littératures et de l'histoire
des pays castillans, catalans et portugais*

DIRIGÉ PAR

R. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC

TOME LVIII



NEW YORK

THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA
156th STREET WEST OF BROADWAY

PARIS

LIBRAIRIE C. KLINCKSIECK, 11, RUE DE LILLE

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SOMMAIRE

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A Critical Study (*à suivre*) x

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ANGEL DE SAAVEDRA, DUQUE DE RIVAS

A CRITICAL STUDY

PREFACE

Among the great personalities of Romantic literature in Spain the Duque de Rivas takes a high place, if not the highest of all. It is not too much to call him, in Menéndez Pelayo's words, « el más español de todos los ingenios de esta era, el de más lozana, generosa y simpática inspiración »¹. Yet no separate study of any length has ever yet been devoted to him, and a book far larger and more comprehensive than the present essay has long been overdue.

This, as its sub-title indicates, is a *critical* study; and though a biographical chapter has been prefaced to it, as a necessary preliminary, the latter must not be considered as final. Other duties have prevented me from spending more than some five weeks in Madrid during the whole of the period in which this book was in preparation. In so short a space there was barely time even to examine the relevant periodicals, far less to embark upon that long and concentrated study which will be necessary before Rivas'

1. Preface to the *Poesías y artículos* of the Marquis de Heredia, 3rd edition, 1912, p. 17.

life can be worthily written. Even his Spanish biographers, with their stores of firsthand information, have left many parts of his life in obscurity; my own comparatively fruitless researches in Córdoba, Cádiz and London show how difficult it will be to shed fresh light upon it.

The biographical chapter, therefore, must be regarded mainly as a summary, apart from a few places where new material has been found or new judgments have been formed upon material already available. Under this latter head I include frequent attempts to correlate Rivas' life with his work and to show how deeply he was influenced by his *milieu*.

In the critical chapters I have allowed myself more space for the early dramas than their intrinsic merits justify, in order to illustrate some of Rivas' methods which he never entirely ceased to employ, and thus to fill a gap in the story of his dramatic evolution. For obvious reasons I have not extended the same consideration to the later plays individually, and I have thought it sufficient, in dealing with the early plays, to select for detailed treatment two only as typical of the rest. In writing of the *Moro Expósito* and *Don Alvaro* I have endeavoured to some extent to synthesise past criticism, by no means always sound or happy, as well as to consider *de novo* from my own standpoint the problems raised by these works.

Undoubtedly any value which this study may have would be increased by a preliminary section making clear my own views as to the nature of Spanish Romanticism, views upon which it is of course based. But such an exposition could not be short, and as I hope before long to make it independently, and at the length which the importance of the matter merits, I withhold it now, referring readers to my *Rivas and Romanticism in Spain* (University Press of Liverpool) in which the question is briefly discussed, and to two articles entitled *Conceptions of Romanticism Some Spanish and Later Con-*

ceptions of Romanticism in Spain in the *Modern Language Review* for 1922 and 1923 respectively.

Such debts as I owe to my predecessors are acknowledged in the bibliography (which for all references in the text should be consulted) and as they occur. I have seldom consciously been influenced by previous criticism, excepting occasionally that of Cañete and Valera, and in biographical matters I have tested Pastor Diaz and other authorities wherever possible. The chapter on the *Moro Expósito* owes something to Sr. Menéndez Pidal : how much, it is impossible to say, since I have approached from an entirely different standpoint the matters with which he deals, and had read the sources concerned before I had the opportunity of consulting his work upon the legend. Of debts to individuals, I must mention, first, with all gratitude, those which I owe to the Librarians of the Biblioteca Nacional, British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale; and to many persons connected with the libraries of Barcelona, Cádiz, Córdoba, Granada, Sevilla, Santander, and Valencia. My friends Professors Philip H. Churchman, S. Griswold Morley and J. G. Robertson have allowed me to incorporate certain suggestions which they have made.

CHAPTER I

Angel de Saavedra : his life and works.

I

1791-1814. — Birth and education. — The War of Independence. — Wounded and left for dead. — Cádiz. — Poems of affection. — Pleasant days in Seville. — The volume of 1814.

Angel Pérez de Saavedra, better known by his later title of Duque de Rivas, was born at Córdoba ¹ on March 10 1791.

1. Cf. *Obras*, ed. 1894, I, 171-180.

His birthplace, marked by a commemorative tablet, is still shewn in Córdoba, and in his works he refers frequently to the city of his birth :

Aquella insigne Córdoba, do el cielo
Me dió el nacer, y que jamás olvido...

(*Florinda*, Canto III, Stanza 36.)

¡Córdoba insigne!... ¡Oh patria, dulce patria!
En cuyo seno de la luz del día
Gocé la primer vez, en cuyo seno
Disfruté el tierno amor y las caricias,
Tesoro de la infancia.

(*Moro Expósito*, Romance VI.)

¡...Los de Córdoba insigne antiguos muros!
En ellos ví del sol la luz primera;

He was the second son of two grandees of Spain, D. Juan Martín de Saavedra y Ramírez, Duque de Rivas, and D^a María Dominga Remírez de Baquedano y Quiñones, Marquesa de Andía y de Villasinda. According to the custom of the day, he received marks of royal favour as the second son of a noble family; he was only six months old when he was decorated with the *Cruz de caballero de justicia de la Orden de Malta*, and shortly afterwards he was given the *bandolera de guardia de Corps supernumerario*. At the age of seven he was made captain in a cavalry regiment!

He grew at a very early age to have the greatest affection for his *tierra*, and especially for the broad and gentle Guadalquivir which washes the banks of his native city. In one of his early poems he paints himself as a child playing by its shores, and as becoming older and pursuing his maturer occupations there also :

Allí, inocente niño, en tus orillas
Me viste recoger piedras pintadas,
Caracoles y hermosas florecillas :
Después, joven lozano, las pisadas
De ferviente bridón grabé en tu arena,
Recorriendo tus selvas encantadas.
Mayor después, mi cítara escuchastes
Cantando hazañas o llorando amores,
Y tal vez de mi acento te prendastes,
Y ceñiste mi sien de yedra y flores ¹.

As a child Angel de Saavedra was entrusted to the care of two of his father's sisters, and when he grew up to boyhood

En ellos apacible la fortuna
De oro y marfil me adormeció en la cuna.

(*El Desterrado*, Vol. II, p. 43.)

1. *El Desterrado*, Vol. II, p. 43. Cf. *Florinda*, Canto III, Stanzas 36-38, — a not dissimilar passage.

he was fortunate enough to secure as a tutor a well-known French cleric, M. Tostin¹, who had been driven from his country by the revolution, and like many others had made Spain his temporary home. From him the boy learned history, geography and French, and as he showed some disposition towards painting, he was taught the rudiments of drawing by a M. Verdiguier, a French sculptor who had settled in Córdoba.

When Angel was still a child the ravages of the yellow fever made it necessary for his parents to remove to Madrid, where another emigrant, M. Bordes, was found to teach him French, history and geography, and a priest whose name has not been preserved to initiate him into the Latin tongue. But Angel's predilections for poetry and painting were becoming most manifest. His father was a versifier of some power like the « capitán coplero » whom he took as his model², and there was further an old *mayordomo* in the house who seems to have acted as family-poet-laureate. As to painting, Rivas' biographer Pastor Diaz³ tells us that the boy's

1. Pastor Diaz, alone of writers on the subject, speaks of him as « Mr. Totins ».

2. « Hacía también versos, no malos, en el estilo de Gerardo Lobo, » says Pastor Diaz (p. 11). The soldier and *misogallo* was a suitable model for those times!

3. Pastor Diaz (see *Obras*, ed. 1894, pp. xv-xvii) was a close personal friend of the Duke's, and his biography, which goes down to the year 1842, and is printed in the 1894 edition (pp. 3-86) was written from details supplied by the Duke himself (Cf. p. 28, ll. 15-16). In parts the latter's own words even may have been used, since he sent his biographer, in response to a request for details, a « voluminous manuscript » — no doubt that of the memoirs which a well-informed writer in 1865 stated to have been prepared for publication (*La Patria*, June 23 1865). His son writes thus of Pastor Diaz's biography : « Bien se echa de ver la mano del Duque en la gráfica narración de ciertos episodios. Es preciso que a uno le

many lapses from good behaviour were never more severely punished than when his pencils were taken away, and he was forbidden to have his drawing lesson.

Throughout Saavedra's life we shall find him returning constantly to Andalucía; throughout his work he returns to it in thought. Some of his most eloquent passages will be cited hereafter, but there is one which, describing as it does his childhood, and written long after, in exile, may well be quoted here. He is apostrophising Córdoba :

Si en tus bosques,
Encantadas llanuras y colinas,
De mi niñez y juventud llenaron
Las horas, que han pasado fugitivas,

De tu grandeza insigne los recuerdos,
Volando en torno de la mente mía
Las sombras de tus héroes generosos,
Cual de una planta nueva en torno giran

Las mariposas del risueño Mayo,
Jamás mi amor a ti, jamás se entibia,
Ni de mi pensamiento un punto sales,
Desde que arrastro en extranjeros climas

La vida, ha tantos años sustentada
Con el amargo pan de la desdicha,
Y aun más con la esperanza de que al cabo
Logren en ti reposo mis cenizas ¹.

hayan sucedido las cosas para contarlas de manera tan expresiva. » Hence (though the writer adds that the Duke is not known to have kept a diary and drew mainly on his memory for these notes) the life of Pastor Diaz down to 1842 will remain the principal source for the later biographer, and forms the basis of the present sketch. It is nevertheless, as will be seen later, frequently vague and occasionally incorrect.

1. *El Moro Expósito*, Romance VI.

At the age of eleven Angel de Saavedra lost his father, who died at Barcelona ¹, and the eldest son succeeded to the title. The Duchess seems to have feared for her son's character now that the father's influence was removed; in any case she sent him to the Real Seminario de Nobles at Madrid ², which at that time was an exceedingly celebrated and efficient institution, and here he met many children with whom he afterwards had much to do.

We have an account in some detail of D. Angel's life at the Seminary ³, and we gather from Pastor Díaz' biography that he was distinguished more by facility and retentiveness than by industry or tenacity of purpose. It is not surprising to learn that his liking for history and poetry was as great as his distaste for mathematics, and that even at this age he was translating Latin into excellent Spanish verse and writing original verse in the manner of Herrera ⁴.

1. He was at Barcelona, at the time of his death, where he had gone with the Court to receive the Neapolitan princess Maria Antonia, first wife of Fernando VII, who was then Prince of Asturias. Carlos IV, who esteemed the Duke very highly, showed his regret at his death by keeping Angel's elder brother near his own person.

2. Where, it is interesting to remember, Victor Hugo spent a short time as a pupil nine years later. A graphic description of the school and of Hugo's experiences in it will be found in Vol. I, Chapter XX (pp. 160-176), of *Victor Hugo, raconté par un témoin de sa vie*, Bruxelles et Leipzig, 1863.

3. His masters were : D. Andrés López de Sagastizábal (Director General); D. Manuel de Valbuena (Regente de estudios); D. Antonio Salas (Latin); D. Demetrio Ortiz (Poetic and Rhetoric); D. Agustín de Sojo (Mathematics); D. Isidoro de Antillón (History and Geography). These subjects, with French, drawing and fencing, apparently constituted the curriculum.

4. It would be going beyond the scope of this study to trace the restored vogue of Herrera through the eighteenth century to its decline. It was greatly aided by the two volumes published by

In 1806 the boy left school to join his regiment at Zamora, preparatory to going beyond the Rhine with Napoleon's forces. At his mother's wish, however, he sacrificed his rank of Captain and served his own country at home instead of Napoleon's abroad. He was attached to the Flemish company of the Royal Guards as a private soldier, and was fortunate enough to have as his room-mate a youth called Bouchelet, as fond of reading, painting and music as was Saavedra himself. It was here, too, that he first made the acquaintance of his contemporaries the Duque de Frias then Conde de Haro), of D. José and D. Mariano Carnerero and of D. Cristóbal de Beña. The three last-named youths, together with Luzuriaga and Capmany, edited at the time a youthful journal which seems to have been lost to posterity. In this journal Angel de Saavedra first found a public. He contributed to it prose articles and verses. We may suppose that the latter are among the *juvenilia* which were later published in his first collection of poems; of the former no trace has been discovered¹.

Angel de Saavedra was sent with his regiment, first to Aranjuez, and afterwards to the Escorial; and he was in the latter town when the curtain rose upon the Revolution at the moment of the discovery of Prince Fernando's negotia-

Ramón Fernández (Madrid, 1786), and entitled *Rimas de Fernando de Herrera*, which formed part of a collection of Spanish poetry.

1. Besides these literary ventures, he took painting lessons from D. José López Enguídanos, then *pintor de cámara*. In the edition of 1894 we find three poems dated 1806 : « En una yegua tordilla... » (*Romance*); « Luz de esta ribera... » (*Romance corto*); and « Febo se retiraba... » (*Cantilena*). Of these, only the last appears in the 1814 edition, and neither of the poems dated 1807 (« Miserio leño... » and « Hermosa zagala »...) is to be found there. There is, however, a footnote (p. 13) to an *epístola* (« Con dulce gozo y con quietud sobrada... ») in this edition, which says : « Se escribió a mediados del año de 1807, en una casa de campo cerca de Guadalajara. »

tions with Napoleon and the imprisonment and subsequent release of the Prince (Oct. 29 — Nov. 5 1807). Shortly after these events the Guards were re-organised, Godoy became their chief, and the foreign companies were suppressed. As Godoy was no friend of Angel's brother the Duke, this was a double blow for the boy.

Meanwhile the events of 1808 were approaching — « el memorable año de 1808 en que nuestra patria recobró su grandeza, y volvió a ser España ¹ ». Napoleon, without notifying the Spanish government, sent an army corps into Spain on the pretext of going to Portugal, — followed by another working in conjunction with it. Later, — although here he had not even the pretext of a Portuguese war to countenance him, — a further division entered Cataluña. The events of the following two months are well known — the occupation of Pampluna, Figueras and Barcelona, the abdication of Charles IV at Aranjuez, the overthrow of Godoy, and finally the unhappy dealings of Fernando with Napoleon and the simultaneous outbreak of the *dos de Mayo* at Madrid ². From the last scene Angel de Saavedra was absent on an expedition to Guadalajara ³.

1. Rivas' *Discurso de Recepción* before the Spanish Academy, Oct. 29, 1834.

2. To this period belongs the violently patriotic poem *Al Arma-mento de las provincias españolas contra los franceses* (*Obras*, ed. 1894, I, pp. 199-204).

3. It was probably from Guadalajara (see, p. 9, note 1 above), though not necessarily on this occasion, that Saavedra wrote the first of those *Epístolas* in tercets of which the best known examples are the fragments written to Cueto from Naples (see *Obras*, ed. 1894, II, 295 ff. and p. 94 below). The following quotations suggest that the poem belongs to this period :

Con dulce gozo y con quietud sabrosa
En la fertil ribera del Henares
Descuidado mi espíritu reposa

Murat now caused considerable commotion by ordering the guard, — which, not without reason, he suspected of being actively loyal — to leave Madrid for the Escorial. In spite of a private interview with the most influential members, including the Duke and his brother, he found great difficulty in inducing them to obey. At the Escorial they were virtually imprisoned by French troops, and when a message came from Murat, ordering the guard to march on Segovia to put down an insurrection there, it was D. Angel who voiced the feelings of the deputation from the guard which had been summoned, declaring with passion that the guard refused to be false to Spain by putting down an outbreak of patriotism, and to concur in the foreign tyranny and oppression which their country was undergoing. In spite of the imprudence of the boy's arguments, his fervour and eloquence were applauded by all. General Frere, who commanded the French troops in the town, was at a loss how to deal with the situation; Quintano, the Spanish officer who had brought the message, essayed to rebuke the boy without success; the whole of the audience resolved to stand by D. Angel, and Quintano returned to Madrid to announce his failure.

Ojalá que posible a mí me fuera
O Ademirto, quedarme en mi alqueria,
Sin volver a la Corte lisonjera.

En medio de una vega dilatada,
Por donde Henares corre caudaloso
Esta pequeña casa está fundada.

Ni la guardan rastrillo ni ancho foso,
Que como de la paz es la manida
No teme al enemigo poderoso.

The poem is not found in any other edition than that of 1814.

The next day the Escorial was evacuated by the French, and the guard was ordered back to Madrid. The guard, however, was thoroughly disaffected; more than half the soldiers in the company left their companions, going in all directions to foment the discontent and bring matters to a head, the remainder (including the Duke and his brother, who judged this course to be the wiser) staying in a body with the object of joining whatever national force should be raised. They marched to Pinto, the Duke going to Madrid to spy out the land, where his brother afterwards joined him. The two, after some conference together, decided not to join Cuesta's force in Castilla but to go alone, in disguise, to Zaragoza, where the Duke's friend Palafox was organising so courageous a defence.

They had hardly entered Aragón when they were surrounded by a questioning crowd which, in spite of their credentials, was not slow in raising the cry of « Treason! » The *alcalde* of the place gave them the protection of his prison but the crowd persisted in crying that the strangers had not only arms but fetters « to take Spanish patriots and sell them in chains to Napoleon ». It is doubtful what would have happened had not one of the members of the dispersed guard been a popular resident in the village and made known their identity and their loyalty to Palafox. After this the inhabitants became as enthusiastic on the brothers' behalf as they had before been hostile, and endeavoured to atone for their ill-treatment of them.

Eventually, however, the brothers decided to join Cuesta's force instead of proceeding to Zaragoza. They found at Tamames a body of guards numbering two hundred men who had already fought an engagement with notable courage at Rioseco. As a member of this body D. Angel took part in his first battle — a minor skirmish with part of a French detachment during the march of the Castilian army to join

forces with the victors of Bailén¹. After several similar small engagements, during one of which the Duke lost his horse and was slightly injured, the retirement on Madrid began, followed by its capitulation, the retreat to Cuenca and the loss of Uclés. The Duke falling ill at this point, both he and his brother returned to Córdoba until he should recover. On rejoining their regiment they took part in the battle of Talavera (July 27-8, 1809), in which, however, the bulk of the fighting was between French and British forces, and afterwards continued skirmishing in La Mancha, during a comparatively quiet period in the campaign.

On the 18th of November 1809 — the eve of the rout at Ocaña — the Spanish cavalry division in which the brothers were fighting met the French at Ontígola and suffered considerable losses. Not for the first time in the campaign, Angel de Saavedra's horse was wounded, and the lad himself, after fighting for some time on foot, received three wounds, and, falling to the ground, was left behind for dead. On coming out of his swoon he had just strength to call to a Spanish soldier who happened to be passing, and who took him upon his horse to Ocaña. Here the hospitals were all full, but Angel was received into a private house, the news of his discovery was conveyed to the Duke, and a surgeon was procured who tended his alarming wounds. By this time it was day; the Duke had to rejoin his squadron, for the enemy was already upon them, and the disastrous engagement which for a time broke the power of the patriotic forces in Northern Spain had begun. All the elder boy could do was to have his brother conveyed to a place of

1. See the somewhat pretentious ode : *A la victoria de Bailén* which must have been written at this time (*Obras*, ed. 1894, pp. 205-210) and the narrative poem *Bailén* in the *Romances históricos*, dedicated, as was natural, to Castaños.

safety and go at the call of duty, hardly thinking they would ever meet in this world again.

It is unnecessary to describe that terrible day : suffice it to say that at its close D. Angel was not only still alive, but decidedly improved in condition. He had been taken to Villacañas where he remained three days, proceeding thence to Baeza to complete his cure¹. In a hospital at Baeza he composed a *romance*² which without any doubt may be considered as autobiographical, and expresses his gratitude for the care he had received. Whether the veracity of the last four stanzas may be assumed is another matter.

Con once heridas mortales,
Hecha pedazos la espada,
El caballo sin aliento,
Y perdida la batalla,

Manchado de sangre y polvo,
En noche obscura y nublada,
En Antígola vencido,
Y deshecha mi esperanza,

Casi en brazos de la muerte,
El laso potro aguijaba
Sobre cadáveres yertos
Y armaduras destrozadas.

Y por una oculta senda
Que el cielo me deparara,
Entre sustos y congojas,
Llegar logré a Villacañas.

La hermosísima Filena,
De mi desastre apiadada,

1. Or, as some writers say, to Tembleque, which is on the same road and only twelve miles distant from Villacañas.

2. *Obras*, ed. 1894, I, 211-3.

Me ofreció su hogar, su lecho,
Y consuelo a mis desgracias.

Registróme las heridas,
Y con manos delicadas
Me limpió el polvo y la sangre,
Que en negro raudal manaban.

Curábame las heridas
Y mayores me las daba;
Curábame las del cuerpo,
Me las causaba en el alma.

Yo, no pudiendo sufrir
El fuego en que me abrasaba,
Díjale : Hermosa Filena,
Basta de curarme, basta.

Más crüeles son tus ojos
Que las polonesas lanzas;
Ellas hirieron mi cuerpo,
Y ellos el alma me abrasan.

Tuve contra Marte aliento
En las sangrientas batallas,
Y contra el rapaz Cupido
El aliento ahora me falta.

Deja esa cura, Filena :
Déjala, que más me agravas;
Deja la cura del cuerpo;
Atiende a curarme el alma.

After three weeks at Baeza, Angel was well enough to travel to Córdoba, where he received something of the reception of a hero. Still troubled by frequently recurring haemorrhage he remained at home for some months. But Napoleon's descent upon Andalucía could only be a matter of days, now that the Spanish forces were broken and his own soldiers were no longer needed in Austria. The Sierra

Morena was pierced on the 20th of January 1810 and the French simultaneously attacked Jaén and Granada with their left wing, and Córdoba and Sevilla with the right.

Córdoba was occupied without any resistance by Joseph Bonaparte and D. Angel fled with his mother to Málaga, only to find that the French advanced guard was about to enter that city also. The invasion on February 5 was met by a brave resistance on the part of the inhabitants. Saavedra, unable to fight but impelled to defend his mother, lost horse, money and almost everything he had, and could only disguise himself, and seek refuge with her in a fisherman's hut. Chance again came to his rescue; for a Spanish officer, who, before he passed over to Napoleon's side, had been the guest of the Duchess in Córdoba, procured them the necessities of life and (what was equally important) passports under assumed names, and enabled them to make good their escape to Gibraltar. Thence they made their way to Cádiz, which had been saved (Feb. 3) ¹ by a skilful movement

1. The British Museum has the *Diario Mercantil de Cádiz* only from this date to June 15 1810, and this with the exception of a few numbers. At Cádiz, however, I have examined a collection covering some twenty years, together with many other papers of the time. There is, nevertheless, scant mention of either the Duque de Rivas or his brother, though the *Diario* contains a great quantity of circumstantial news of the war. The *Redactor General* of Cádiz (June 15 1811 to Dec. 31, 1813) which besides the full reports from the chief war areas, light articles of a general nature, and satirical political articles, has also short reviews from contemporary newspapers published in Cádiz and elsewhere, contains no other direct mention of our author than the notice quoted on page 20. The poems and articles (mainly political) signed « S » seem to be by M. de Santurio, who contributed others over his own name and over the initials « M. de S ». An ode of eighty lines (Vol. IV, pp. 2535-6) is signed A. S. which probably represents « Abonado Sacristán » (see p. 3195, etc.). On Vol. III, pp. 2193-4, is a short political communication signed

on the part of the Duque de Albuquerque and where among others the Duque de Rivas had lately arrived at the head of his squadron. Cádiz became a rallying-place for the Spanish forces; fourteen thousand men were quickly collected, reinforced by five thousand (Feb. 23) from Britain and Portugal. Hereupon Angel de Saavedra resolved not unnaturally to re-enter upon active service. Castaños gave him the rank and pay of Captain under his (Saavedra's) brother and he was attached for the time being to the general staff¹.

It is unnecessary here to insist, as Pastor Diaz does in his biographical sketch, upon the rigorous life which the young poet was leading and the enthusiasm which led him, not only to display such courage in action, but also to write and paint under conditions of active service. The verse he had written up to this time showed little but promise, yet his period of rude apprenticeship was proving him at least to be a poet at heart : the rest was to follow.

Saavedra's official biographer tells us that his gifts of facility in writing and sketching made him a valuable member of the staff². He is said to have written many records

S***a. The authorship of this I have not established; it may well be Francisco Saavedra (see p. 28).

1. His post was that of *ayudante segundo* (Adolfo de Castro : *Cádiz en la Guerra de la Independencia*; Cadiz, 1864).

2. « Esta facilidad de escribir y práctica de dibujar le hicieron singularmente apreciado en el estado mayor, en que sus jefes le encomendaron el Negociado de topografía e historia militar. Escribió entonces con mucho acierto los resúmenes históricos formados sobre los partes oficiales de los ejércitos, que se presentaban mensualmente al Gobierno... publicó una defensa larga y razonada del estado mayor, contestando a un folleto que pareció en Cádiz contra aquel establecimiento; redactó varias exposiciones y memorias al Gobierno sobre la organización del cuerpo; y fué el redactor y director del periódico militar del estado mayor, que se publicó semanalmente en Cádiz con general aceptación en todo el año de 1811. » (*Obras*, ed. 1894, p. 35.)

and documents now lost in anonymity; more important than this was his publication of a long defence of certain actions of the staff, in reply to an attack which had appeared in Cádiz. Before long he became editor of the official staff gazette which was published as a weekly in Cádiz throughout 1811. He was able now also to indulge in occupations more after his own heart still. The *Conde de Noroña*, Governor of Cádiz, with whom he was closely connected, had already made a certain reputation as a poet, with two volumes published in 1799, and if we may judge from the ode which Saavedra addressed to him in 1812, he quickly became the youth's ideal of the warrior-bard¹. Saavedra also made the acquaintance of Juan Nicasio Gallego, who had come to Cádiz when the French entered Madrid and remained there till 1814. Gallego was one of the stars in the literary firmament, and sufficiently famous to have justified Saavedra's hero-worship, the more so since his verses were inspired by the same fervid patriotism as flowed from the younger man's pen, and from that of Juan Bautista Arriaza who was also of the literary company in Cádiz. But without any doubt it was Manuel José Quintana, the greatest literary figure and one of the chief national celebrities in Cádiz at the time, who exercised the principal influence upon Saavedra's patriotic verse. Quintana, though only forty years

1. *Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. I, pp. 221-5. The ode ends, for example, thus :

Pero tú, egregio Conde,
A quien Apolo la sagrada frente
Entre laurel esconde,
Canta los hechos de la hispana gente;
Triunfará del olvido
De tu pecho y tu cítara el sonido.

Cf., pp. 22-3 below.

of age, had every claim upon a young and aristocratic poet's imagination, particularly as the young aristocrat in question had played so serious a part in the patriotic struggle which was still proceeding. For Quintana, too, in that same struggle had played a distinguished rôle and filled distinguished posts; his patriotic drama *Pelayo* had met with the greatest success; he had edited the well-known *Variedades* and the *Semanario patriótico*; his original poems as well as the collection he was compiling were eminently popular; and the greater number of his famous *Lives* had already appeared. Among many other literary personalities influenced by Quintana the afterwards famous Francisco Martínez de la Rosa was also at Cádiz at that time. He had, indeed, made his *début*, though little older than Saavedra, with a poem on the second defence of Zaragoza, which he presented at a literary contest organised by the Junta Central, and with a comedy *Lo que puede un empleo* which was first played in the theatre at Cádiz.

Apart from the long *Paso Honroso* (1812), the minor verses of the period which may be found in the collected edition of Saavedra's works, and others, to be dealt with shortly, which were published in the first edition of his poems, there are several indications of his literary activities in Cádiz and the reception with which they met¹. On October 9 1812 (Vol. II, p. 1917) the *Redactor general de Cádiz* printed fourteen lines of a poem entitled *Cádiz libre del sitio*, which bear the signature « A. de S***a », and, in spite of their not being in the 1814 or subsequent editions, are probably the work

1. His friend Antonio Alcalá Galiano (*Recuerdos de un Anciano*, Madrid, 1878, p. 169) speaks of these early efforts thus :

« Algunas composicioncillas, aunque no malas, del joven D. Angel de Saavedra, no daban, con todo, idea de lo que había de llegar a ser el ilustre duque de Rivas. »

of Saavedra. The reviewer makes the following brief comment upon them : « Por los siguientes versos podrán formar idea nuestros lectores del carácter de la poesía del autor, que según parece se propone por modelo a nuestro Fernando de Herrera ¹.

1. The lines are as follows :

« ¡Ai de los que en su número fiados,
Y en su denuedo y en sus armas fieras,
Se atrevieron a hollarte, inclita España,
Y a desplegar de muerte las banderas
En la costa que el mar de Atlante baña :
Que el brazo del Señor potente y grave
Deshace su furor, cual sol ardiente
Deshace obscura niebla; y ya no sabe
Vencer el galo triunfador, y en vano
Ostenta su poder antes temido,
Y de sus huestes el ardor insano,
Y su bélico estruendo y alarido :
Que el Cielo en ellas el pavor infunde,
Y su altivez y su impiedad confunde! »

Castro (*op. cit.*, pp. 151-2) in the following passage speaks of this poem also :

« D. Angel de Saavedra, que como ayudante del Estado Mayor ha ido a recoger efectos de guerra de los enemigos al Trocadero, saca un diseño de los obuses de Villantroys, el cual es grabado al humo, y corre de mano en mano por Cádiz como objeto de la más viva curiosidad. (Entre esos morteros están los dos llamados el *Rey de Roma* y el *Mortier*, que son regalados a la nación inglesa, como recuerdo del sitio de esta ciudad.) Al propio tiempo el mismo Don Angel de Saavedra escribe y publica una oda con el título de *Cádiz libre del sitio*, en magníficos versos, imitación del estilo de Fernando de Herrera. Dice en la única estrofa que conocemos de esta oda, pues no hemos podido hallarla, ni su mismo autor la conserva impresa, ni escrita, ni en la memoria. » (He then quotes the above stanza.)

Beyond the passages quoted below, and the information that Saavedra lodged in the Callejón alto de los Descalzos (« hoy nº 21 ») Castro says nothing more about him.

In the previous number (Vol. II, p. 1909, Oct. 8 1812) there is a poem to General Downie eulogising his courage in the Peninsular War, and quoting Ossian in two stanzas. Though this is signed B---, and is probably therefore not Saavedra's¹, there is included in the first and second editions of Saavedra's works a sonnet to the same hero which is also Ossianic, and suggests the influence of the other poem, if he was not in fact its author².

Throughout the events of 1810 to 1812 in Cádiz we may imagine Saavedra's political views gradually stabilising and his literary powers maturing, perhaps somewhat rapidly, now that he had more leisure to exercise them. Politically he took his stand as an ardent liberal, and an enthusiastic upholder of the Constitution of 1812, which was as perfect now in his eyes as Fernando el Deseado had been four years earlier. Meanwhile he continued to serve his country, rising to the rank of lieutenant-colonel on the staff after taking a characteristically active part in the engagement at Chiclana (March 5 1811) where he had been sent on staff duties.

Adolfo de Castro gives this short but vivid account of his activities :

Monta un caballo que había pertenecido al general Solano. Llega a la Isla, pasa el puente, se avista con el jefe de Estado mayor, D. Luis Lacy, el cual le manda, aprovechando la circunstancia de su venida, que al frente de un batallón se apodere de un reducto enemigo, que molesta mucho con sus fuegos. A la cabeza de las tropas va D. Angel

1. I believe it to be by Cristóbal de Beña (see my article on « The Influence of Ossian in Spain » in *Philological Quarterly*, vol. III, Iowa, 1924.

2. It may be worth noting that I have made a thorough examination of the periodicals published at Cádiz during the Peninsular War and have found no further traces than these of Saavedra's collaboration.

de Saavedra, y logra enseñorearse de aquel punto, no sin recibir una ligera herida de un bayonetazo en la frente. Con esta insignia de honor vuelve a Cádiz a dar a la Regencia nuevas de la victoria, obteniendo en seguida el grado de teniente coronel ¹.

Later Saavedra was sent to Córdoba to quell the mutiny of General Merino's division there. And now, just as the success at Vitoria (June 21, 1813) had sealed the defeat of the French, D. Angel was again attacked by the haemorrhage which he had thought to be cured; he was ordered by the doctors to Andalucía; and after a short stay at Sevilla in the reserve, he was given the light post of raising and organising a new cavalry regiment at Córdoba. On the complete expulsion of the French from Spain he left the army.

It was not long before Saavedra was to be plunged into the gulf of politics, but for a time he was allowed to remain in peace. This was the period during which he wrote the patriotic odes on Arapiles and Napoleon Dethroned, and a particularly significant ode to the Conde de Noroña in which he exhorts the soldier-poet to rejoice over the exploits of the Spanish arms, and (quite needlessly) covets the poetic genius of that somewhat frigid bard :

Alto asunto a tu canto
Las glorias de Sansueña y de Gerona
Te ofrecen, con espanto
De los que baña el Sena y el Garona;
Que contra su arrogancia
Ven renacer los héroes de Numancia.

Canta de Talavera
Y de Bailén los triunfos y victorias,
Que allí la Galia fiera
Vió marchitados su laurel, sus glorias.
Y dí el desnudo y brío
Del albionés, azote del impío.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-6.

¡Oh! si me fuera dado
El numen que en tu pecho se derrama,
Y el ardor desusado
Con que tu heroica cítara se inflama,
¡Cuál de la patria mía
Las hazañas y triunfos cantaría !¹

In the same poem Saavedra attributes his inability to chant the deeds of Mars to his pre-occupation with affairs of love ², and, as from this point onwards the young poet is more and more concerned with this subject, the interesting question arises whether any of his love poems may be regarded as autobiographical.

Most readers will agree that while the references to love in the earliest verses are almost certainly poetical fictions, the later poems have probably some counterpart in the poet's experience. Precisely where the experience begins it is impossible to say. Many would consider the sonnet *El oponer mi pecho...*, written the year after *Con once heridas mortales...* (1810), to mark the first appearance of a real passion : it shows us only a vaguely outlined disdain-

1. *Obras*, ed. 1894, I, pp. 222-3. A long *Epístola* to Noroña « O cuán felice fuera... ») also occurs in the 1814 edition; it is one of those not afterwards reprinted.

2. Mas ¡ay! que intento en vano
Cantar las iras del fogoso Marte,
Que con sangrienta mano
Va tremolando el hórrido estandarte;
Porque mi ebúrnea lira
Encantos del amor sólo suspira. (*Ibid.*)

Cf. also the sonnet *Lleno el pecho de orgullo y ufanía...* (I, p. 237) and *Lauro y triunfos...* (I, 395) for the same antithesis between love and war.

ful lady ¹, and the sonnet *Ojos divinos...* written two years later (1812) adds nothing to our knowledge of her, except that her continued disdain had multiplied the intensity of the poet's passion ². There may well be a reference to her in the opening stanzas of the *Paso Honroso* (1812) ³. The same year (1812) which shews us an « Amira » who certainly is not the lady in question ⁴, gives us three sonnets ⁵ written in the same key of melancholy, one of which names a « Lesbia » who also is conceivably an ideal ⁶.

1. Sólo me deja yerto y temeroso
El ver al dueño a quien mi pecho adora
Siempre enojado, siempre desdeñoso. (I, 219.)

2. I, 227.

3. Tengo, señor, rendido el pecho mío
A una soberbia, desdeñosa dama,
Que paga mis amores con desvío :
Mi corazón con su desdén se inflama,
Está a sus pies humilde mi albedrío;
Y mientras más ingrata y más esquiva,
Más y más me encadena y me cautiva.

(*Paso Honroso*, Canto I, Stanza 11.)

Cf. also the digression on love, II, 25.

4. See the ode *A Amira*, I, 229. Not only are Amira's qualities not those of the disdainful lady, but she is represented as being loved, not by Saavedra, but merely by « tanto(s) amador(es) ». She may well be a fictitious personage.

5. I, 233, 237, 239. I take the last two to have been written in 1812 also.

6. She stands as an object for the poet's affection, and her attitude to him is not defined. The « rostro placentero » is not a characteristic of the disdainful lady! Yet the *Paso Honroso* is dedicated to her, and she is mentioned thrice in that poem, viz. Canto I, stanza 3; II, 10, 26. The references are conventional, as are also those in two of the poems not reprinted from the 1814 volume.

In 1814 we again have what seems to be indubitably the product of experience. In the midst of his patriotic odes, Saavedra is urging his lady to have pity on him. First he pleads with her to take a lesson from the gentle dove :

Del que fuere enemigo huye volando;
Mas no de mí que soy tu fino amante¹ ?.

Then he laments his absence from one who has sworn eternal constancy to him as his betrothed². But in the same year he breaks out into fierce cries, against a lover, not now disdainful but unfaithful³ :

¿Dónde están, ingrata,
Dónde tus extremos?
¿Dónde tus ofertas?
¿Dó tus juramentos?
¡Ay de mí infelice,
Que en amor ardiendo,
Bebí de tus labios,
Engaños sin cuento!

¡Oh mujer terrible,
Más que el tigre fiero!
¿Por qué me inspiraste
Tan horrible incendio,
Si era nieve helada,
Tu alevoso seno?

(« Volvámonos, o Lesbia... » and « Decidme, Zagales, ¿qué fuerza tendrán Los ojos de Lesbia...? »). But it was a common enough dedication : see, for example, Gallego's works, *passim*.

1. I, 275.

2. I, 257-260, especially, p. 258.

3. *Romance corto*, I, 247-9.

* * *

¡Bárbaro recreo!
Sigue, ingrata y dura,
Tanto mal haciendo,
Mientras yo mezquino,
Y abrasado y ciego,
Perdido te adoro,
Y en llanto deshecho,
Muriendo a tus plantas,
Tus triunfos completo.

The passion of this *Romance* makes it probable that the poet is now recording his experience, though perhaps not exactly. Within one year a lady so long impassive would scarcely relent, become affianced to him, forsake him and become unfaithful. Yet to reject this interpretation is not to deny a basis of truth to the verses.

On the dissolution of the radical *Cortes* of Cádiz and the return of Fernando to Madrid, the poet might reasonably have expected to be treated with severity for his liberal views. But on the contrary the King shewed the greatest affability both to D. Angel and the Duke. Others might be exiled but Fernando actually praised the brothers' military services in public and gave D. Angel a post at Sevilla, with promotion to the rank and pay of colonel. And as a result we have D. Angel soon after playing the courtier in the long and fulsome ode *Al Rey nuestro Señor* (1817).

These pleasant days which the poet now spent in Sevilla are recalled in more than one of his happiest passages. As early as 1809 he was singing to the Guadalquivir as it rolled down to the sea between verdant olive-groves and fruitful orchards :

Id, aguas puras,
Id a Sevilla,

Buscad en ella
Mi amor y vida ¹.

And the « fertil ribera del Betis olivoso ² » forms a convenient setting for his more artificial eclogues as well as for his simple songs of love. We shall find him returning, in his verse, to Sevilla again.

Among his associates there was the well-known and erudite Vargas y Ponce, whom Saavedra had already met at Cádiz. Vargas, though a man of over fifty, with a reputation both political and literary, seems to have been on very intimate terms with Saavedra, and to have corresponded with him after their separation by circumstances. Some of this correspondence was in verse; two long « epistles », one on each side, and dated 1815, have been preserved by Aribau in Volume LXVII of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (pp. 606-8). Two years later we find Vargas y Ponce in a *romance* ³ playfully reproaching Saavedra for his fondness for bull-fighting and other « barbarous » amusements, and receiving in reply the long *epístola* written from Córdoba in 1817, which may be found in the collected edition of Rivas' works ⁴.

1. *Romance* (« Entre verdes olivares... »).

2. See also pp. 117, 129, 195, below.

3. Its nature may be gathered from the opening lines :

Bárbaro que así desluces
Los presentes de natura,
Y en demonio, siendo ángel,
Tu torpe sandez te muda;

Antes que tus nobles prendas
Empañe tanta locura,
La plebeya y vil garrocha
Niega a tus manos, y escucha...

4. Ed. 1894, Vol, I, pp. 281-292.

Associates of less fame, and probably also less intimate with Saavedra, were the poet and priest Arjona ¹, who had won considerable local celebrity in Sevilla as poet and scholar; Antonio Ranz Romanillos, the celebrated Hellenist, and translator of Plutarch, not long before elected to the Academy, and Francisco Saavedra, who figures largely in the history of those troubled years as rival and victim of Godoy, president of the Junta de España e Indias, and a member of the regency of 1809.

In 1814 ² appeared a slim volume of poetry from D. Angel's pen, consisting of thirty short pieces, classed by the author in an index, though not in the body of the work ³, as Cántilenas, Eglogas, Epístolas, Letrillas, Romances, Odas and Sonetos, together with the longer poem *El Paso Honroso* ⁴. The text of these short poems differs in many cases from that of later editions, and no less than sixteen of them are not to

1. See *Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. I, p. 293, note 1. Manuel María de Arjona (1761-1820) was one of the leading Sevillian literary men of the time and a prominent member of the Academia de letras humanas of Sevilla.

2. Not as Pastor Diaz says (*op. cit.*, p. 44) at the end of 1813.

3. See *Advertencia* below, paragraph 4.

4. || Poesias || de || Don Angel de Saavedra, || Remirez de Baquedano || Cadiz : 1814 || Imprenta Patriótica || A cargo de D. Ramon Hovve || . The volume, which has 123 pages, exclusive of the title-page and a page of errata at the end, is somewhat scarce. It is not in the British Museum, nor in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, and I have searched for it in several provincial libraries without success. The copy belonging to the University Library of Sevilla (from which I quote) may be found under the index-number 310/127. On a blank page is written in an immature hand : « Es de Maria del Pilar Andres de la Camara y Liaño, » and, against twenty-one of the thirty short poems which with *El Paso Honroso* comprise the collection, are the words « Lo sé ». Evidently the future Duke was to have his disciples in Sevilla !

be found in the so-called complete edition of the poet's works which forms part of the *Colección de escritores castellanos* (1894-1904) ¹, while on the other hand seven in this latest edition dated 1812 and earlier, and two which are probably not later than 1812, are not in the edition of 1814. These numerous variations, no doubt, are partly due to the extreme juvenility of some of the verses in this early collection, which caused the exclusions from the later edition, and partly to the exceptionally difficult circumstances in which they were composed owing to which it may have been impossible for the poet to collect his material properly ². In the few lines which serve as prologue to the volume, and which are reproduced below as they stand, we have, as it were, a premonition of this later severity :

Advertencia.

Por complacer a mis amigos, que desean tener copias de mis composiciones poéticas, y por evitar lo que se desfiguran estas (sea cual fuere su mérito) en los traslados manuscritos, me he dedicado algún tiempo a limarlas y corregirlas, y me he atrevido a darlas a la prensa.

La mayor parte de estas poesías están pensadas y escritas o en medio de las incomodidades de una guerra activa, o entre el manejo de negocios áridos y enfadosos; sirviéndome de distracción de las fatigas militares, o de desahogo de los desvelos del bufete.

En todas ellas he procurado imitar la sencillez en el modo de decir y de presentar los pensamientos que ostentan nuestros poetas del

1. Of these sixteen, none but two were ever reprinted in any edition later than that of 1814. They will appear shortly in the *Revue Hispanique*.

2. A note at the end of the list of errata in the 1814 edition bears this supposition out, and the prefatory note reproduced below confirms it. The former runs « Además de los yerros corregidos, hay algunos otros de menos consideración particularmente de ortografía, inremediables en las obras que no se imprimen a la vista de su autor ».

siglo XVI. Y aunque no me lisonjeo de haberlo conseguido, me contento sólo con haberlo intentado.

He colocado las composiciones sin orden ni clasificación alguna, por evitar la monotonía, y por parecerme inútil en las obras de esta especie.

Finalmente me tendré por dichoso si consigo agradar en algo a mis lectores, a quienes presento esta corta muestra de mi afición a las letras, y en particular a la poesía.

II

1814-1830. — Early plays. — The volume of 1820-1. — Events of 1823. — *Lanuza*. — Flight to Gibraltar. — England, Italy and Malta. — John Hookham Frere : problem of his relations with Saavedra. — *Al faro de Malta*. — The *Moro Expósito* : its composition and publication.

Before he had been long in Sevilla, Saavedra was writing for the stage. Towards the end of 1814 he composed a tragedy in five acts called *Ataulfo*, which, as Pastor Diaz puts it, won him, if no other honours, at least that of prohibition by the public censor. On this account it was never played nor printed; and when preparing the definitive edition of his works forty years later the author omitted it, with some other early plays, no doubt because of its immaturity. But Saavedra's friends encouraged him to go on writing. « *Manos a la labor* », wrote Vargas y Ponce, comparing the young poet with Ercilla :

Manos a la labor. ¿Qué te detiene?
Aprovecha tus fuegos juveniles,
Que el hielo de la edad temprano viene.
Las Musas favorecen los abriles.

Saavedra's next tragedy, *Aliatar*, met with great success in Sevilla, where it was played for the first time on July 8,

1816¹. In the same year it appeared as a little volume of eighty-two pages², dedicated by the author to one of his former teachers in terms of warm affection which deserve to be quoted :

Al Sr. D. Demetrio Ortiz y Pasaña, oidor de la real audiencia de Caceres, Catedratico que fue de Poética y Retorica en el Real Seminario de Nobles de Madrid.

Mi amado maestro : á nadie mejor que á vd. puedo dedicar el primer fruto de mis tareas dramáticas. A vd. solo, que con tanto cariño se desveló por instruirme en los preceptos del arte de Eurípides, y que dándome á conocer las bellezas propias del coturno, me inspiró afición a este ramo encantador de la Poesia. ¡Oxala que mis adelantos hubieran igualado al esmero de vd., cuya memoria no se ha borrado jamas de mi pecho.

En fin, los aplausos concedidos á la tragedia de Aliatar por un público benigno, aplausos los mas lisonjeros para mí, á vd. solo los he debido; y seria un ingrato sino le manifestára mi reconocimiento. Reciba vd. en prueba de él este corto obsequio, que le tributa su agradecido discípulo y amigo

Angel de Saavedra.

Successful, too, if we may trust contemporary evidence, was the tragedy *Doña Blanca* (1815). Of this play nothing is known but that its subject was the marriage of the unhappy Blanca de Borbón and Pedro the Cruel, as unfortunately the manuscript was lost in the turmoils of 1823³. A letter

1. According to the author (*Obras completas*, ed. 1854-5, Vol. IV, p. 526, *Aliatar* was printed in 1815. But the title-page, transcribed below, seems to contradict this :

|| Aliatar, || Tragedia en cinco actos, || de || D. Angel de Saavedra, Remirez || de Baquedano. || Representada por primera vez en || el teatro de esta ciudad el dia 8 de Julio || del presente año || Sevilla || Imprenta de Caro. || 1816 ||

2. The volume is rare, but two copies are to be found in the Biblioteca Municipal, Madrid. The dedication is copied *sic*.

3. It is referred to by Saavedra at the close of one of his epistles

to the author by Ranz Romanillos dated from Córdoba on March 15 1819 pays *Doña Blanca* a warm tribute. Saavedra had apparently been dissatisfied with the character of the queen, and his critic attributes this to her passivity. She is a lamb caught in the clutches of a wolf, and nothing more ¹. He discusses the other characters and various faults at some length. At the same time he says :

Ha sacado Vm. del asunto todo el partido que era posible. La historia es conocida, y Vm. se ha valido con maestría de todas sus circunstancias, haciéndolas servir para dar realce a la acción : sobre todo, la aparición del pastor está muy bien traída y manejada. Tales sucesos son muy propios para acrecer el terror ; y en este drama, cuando la historia no le hubiera ofrecido, era preciso haberle inventado, porque faltan todos los otros medios teatrales de grande efecto. Los caracteres, que son los que la historia da a los principales personajes, están bien pintados y sostenidos ².

D. Angel's next two plays, though not published until 1820, were acted in various parts of Spain as well as in Sevilla. The first, *El Duque de Aquitania* (1817) is a tragedy in five acts and an uninspired imitation of Alfieri's *Orestes* : it was

in verse to Vargas y Ponce (see *Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. I, 292 and note) and also in the 1854-5 edition (Vol. IV, p. 526) where he merely speaks of it as « hasta ahora inédita ». Cf., p. 43 below.

1. « Contribuye en alguna parte a disminuir el interés en esta tragedia el que la protagonista no puede haberse más que pasivamente en toda ella, no pudiendo poner nada de su parte ni para mejorar ni para empeorar su suerte. Las situaciones apuradas de los personajes principales, sus deliberaciones, y sus acciones consiguientes a los riesgos que les amenazan, dan mucho calor al drama, y ponen a los espectadores en una proporcional agitación. Aquí esta infeliz princesa nada tiene que hacer, y sólo la consideramos como una cordera inocente caída en las garras de un lobo, en cuyo favor se trabaja para que éste no acabe de despedazarla. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 322.)

2. Quoted by Alvarez Espino (*op. cit.*, p. 322). The whole of the letter extant is reproduced by Cañete, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5.

first played in Sevilla and then in several other towns in Spain. The *Duque de Aquitania* was followed by a somewhat more meritorious work entitled *Malek-Adhél*¹, like it a tragedy in five acts, written in 1818 at Sevilla and played at Barcelona. Together with these, Saavedra had written a considerable number of lyrics, and in 1819 he meditated collecting the whole into a second edition of his poems, to be revised by his friend J. N. Gallego, who was at the time a prisoner in the Cartuja at Jerez², and whose eulogistic birthday sonnet to D. Angel (of the same year) shews how quickly their acquaintance had grown into friendship³.

Most of these lyrics written since 1814 are directly or

1. It is variously spelt as *Maleck-Adhel* (Rivas, ed. 1854-5, Vol. IV, p. 526); *Malech-Hadhel* (Pastor Diaz); *Malech-Adhel* (Cañete); *Malek-Adel* (Alvarez Espino). The form used here, however, is that of the second edition (1820) of Rivas works.

2. He had been imprisoned on Fernando's return in 1814, and after eighteen months in a public prison was transferred in 1816 to the Cartuja de Jerez at his own request. He was not freed till 1820.

3. Tú, a quien afable concedió el destino
 Digna ofrenda a tu ingenio soberano,
 Manejar del Aminta castellano
 La dulce lira y el pincel divino,
 Vibrando el plectro y animando el lino
 Logres, Saavedra, con dichosa mano,
 Vencer las glorias del cantor troyano,
 Robar las gracias del pincel de Urbino.
 Lógralo y logre yo, si más clemente
 Se muestra acaso la áspera fortuna
 Que hoy no me deja en blando son loarte,
 Tejer nuevas coronas a tu frente
 Ya esclarecida por tu ilustre cuna,
 Ya decorada del laurel de Marte.

A revised version of this sonnet will be found in Gallego's *Obras Poéticas*, 1854, p. 129.

indirectly concerned with love, and the reader naturally tries to pick up a biographical thread running through them. If the year 1814 presented a difficulty to the would-be interpreter, the years 1819 and 1820 tell a comparatively simple story. Between these two dates we have only the sonnet to « Nise » (1817)¹, a girl unhappy in her love, and verses on two fictitious lovers Virta and Lidoro² (1817, 1818), in the earlier of which it would seem as if D. Angel might be looking back upon his own desertion in a more resigned and philosophical frame of mind. His tone is calm, and we may opine that he had recovered from his disappointment :

Mas; qué recuerdos!... ¡Ah! ¡Virta engañosa!
Existen bosque y tronco y fresno y fuente;
Y no mi amor en tu mudable pecho³.

In 1819, however, appears a lady styled Olimpia⁴, at first somewhat statuesque and addressed in conventional terms⁵, but soon taking possession of the whole of Saavedra's poetry in a way that leaves no room for doubt that she represents the poet's truest love. Of the twenty-four short compositions which appear in the latest edition of Rivas'

1. I, 303.

2. I, 307, 315-8.

3. I, 307.

4. He would appear to have met her first in Madrid :

Riberas del humilde Manzanares,
Do la primera vez la viva lumbre
De sus ojos gocé. (II, 26.)

5. I, 321. Her first appearance is in these lines :

Oye afable, hermosa Olimpia,
De mi lira los acentos,
Y a tu ternura recuerden
Que tu amor vive en mi pecho...

works over the dates 1819 and 1820, no less than eighteen are either dedicated to Olimpia or contain some reference to her name ¹. If we may believe these poems the course of this love ran at first no more smoothly than that of the earlier attraction. We find the poet doubting his lady's constancy ², then declaring his faith in her eternal love for him ³, extolling her charms in the most artificial language ⁴, only to doubt once more ⁵ until doubt gives place to certainty, and the poet is again in despair ⁶. His « ingrata y hermosísima señora ⁷ » is about to leave him :

¿Y me abandonarás? ¿Y en hondo olvido
Sepultarás mi dicha y los amores
Que tanto tiempo tu delicia han sido ⁶?

1. They are clearly not arranged chronologically, I, 343, for example, evidently having been written before the poet had declared his love; in I, 325, the lovers are apparently affianced. I, 395, too, should clearly come earlier.

2. ¿Y qué, Olimpia crüel, has olvidado
Mi amor, tus juramentos?... (I, 325.)

¿Dó mi Olimpia crüel, que así me deja
En hondo afán, en mísera agonía? (I, 333.)

¿Tal vez me has olvidado, y te entretiene
Alguno más dichoso?... ¡Oh Dios!... Perdona :
Siempre el tierno amador recelos tiene. (I, 334.)

Too much, however, must not be made of the order of these poems, which are all dated 1819 and 1820, since there is no means of determining the order in which they were written.

3. *e. g.*, in passages too long to quote, I, 327-332; I, 345.

4. *e. g.*, *A Olimpia* and *Cantilena* (I, 347-351.)

5. I, 366-7 .

6. I, 379-393.

7. I, 389.

Sáciese tu crueldad y saña impía :
 Pronto verá mi tumba esta ribera,
 Que engañada envidió la dicha mía,

*
* *

Y entonces tú, contenta y orgullosa,
 Y con tu triunfo bárbaro engreída,
 De mi sepulcro rústico la losa
 Vendrás a hollar con planta envanecida ¹.

By 1820, however, the interrupted relations have been resumed. The long and rather pretentious poems addressed to his « ilustre y hermosísima señora ² » no longer upbraid her. As sure as ever of his own devotion, even the spectre of exile, which for long has haunted him, is powerless to depress his spirits. In the last of the love-poems which we have before the fulfilment of his fears ³, his star has emerged from behind the clouds triumphant :

¿Qué es la ausencia
 Cuando se ama cual yo? ¿Qué es la distancia
 Cuando del dulce bien que el alma adora
 Vive en el corazón la hermosa imagen,
 Y a esperanzas dulcísimas se entrega
 El constante amador?

En pos el día,
 El día ansiado brillará, en que afable
 El destino a mi Olimpia me devuelva.
 En sus ardientes deliciosos brazos
 Lograré el premio a la constancia mía :
 Tornaré a ser feliz ⁴.

1. I, 392-3.

2. II, 18.

3. *A Olimpia*, II, 23-9 (dated 1820).

4. II, 27, 28-9 (dated 1820). Cf. I, 322-3 (dated 1819), *A Olimpia* :

...Y si el destino sañudo
 De ti me aparta violento,

It is strange that in 1819 and 1820 Saavedra's mind should have been thus intensely preoccupied with thoughts of parting¹, for in the latter year occurred the political crisis which resulted in Fernando's taking the oath of allegiance to the Constitution of 1812 (March 7 1820)². Saavedra, who was in Madrid at the time, took part in the general

Robándome tus caricias,
Dejándome llanto y duelo;

Ora los climas helados
Alumbren tus ojos bellos,
Ora a la zona abrasada
Dé vida tu blando aliento;

Recuérdente mis afanes,
Tu amor, mi delirio ciego,
Mi constancia, tu ternura,
Mi dicha y tus juramentos..., etc.

1. Before 1814 (in one of the early poems not reprinted in later editions) Saavedra in an eclogue had put words into the mouth of his Silvio which also read, in the light of later events, like a prophecy of exile :

Ausente de mi hogar, y mi alquería,
En tierra extraña, en árido desierto... etc.

2. We have a commentary by Saavedra upon the state of the country in his oration of May 30 1819 to the Real Sociedad Patriótica of Córdoba (*Obras*, ed. 1854, pp. 357-64). It has no great importance, except as illustrating Saavedra's prose style, in which sentiment and imagination play a greater part than reasoning. One eloquent passage where he apostrophises « la hermosa Córdoba... la opulente corte del soberbio Almanzor » is very characteristic. « ¡Oh Córdoba, Córdoba! » it begins, « amada patria mía : permite a mi labio, que lamente tus desgracias presentes, permite a mi pecho, que se desahogue en copiosas lágrimas al ver tu actual estado, y al recordar tus antiguas glorias, que desaparecieron sin dejar rastro de ellas, como desaparece el relámpago entre las nubes... etc. »

rejoicings, and had the satisfaction of seeing many of his old companions liberated from imprisonment, or recalled from exile, and given posts of honour. He himself had no desire for political advancement, and determined to travel, which during the period of Fernando's absolute rule he had been unable to do. He was now given six years' leave of absence on the understanding that he would examine and report to the Government on the military establishments of the countries he visited. Only staying to publish the second edition of his poems (in two volumes, of which the second appeared in Jan. 1821), he went to Córdoba to take leave of his family, and in May of the same year journeyed to Paris.

This edition¹ contains only a selection from the verses of the 1814 edition, and the poems omitted were not, as has been said, replaced in later editions. Only two poems which appear in the editions both of 1814 and 1820 were excluded from the collection of 1894, namely the sonnets beginning

Huye, o sueño apacible y delicioso...

and

O de Fingal heroico descendiente...

1. The title-page reads :

|| Poesías || de || Don Angel de Saavedra || Ramirez de Baquedano || Segunda edicion, || corregida y aumentada || Tomo primero || Madrid || Imprenta de I. Sancha || 1820. || The title-page of the second volume differs only from this by the substitution of the words « Tomo segundo » and « 1821 ».

The first volume bears the following dedication :

|| A la Exc^{ma} S^{ra}. D^a. María Dominga || Ramirez de Baquedano y Quiñones, || Marquesa de Andia y de Villasinda, || Duquesa viuda de Rivas, etc., etc., etc. || *En testimonio de amor, de respeto y gratitud* || Su humilde hijo || Angel de Saavedra Ramirez || de Baquedano || The edition is not so rare as that of 1814. It is to be found in the British Museum, as well as in the Biblioteca Nacional, and various Spanish provincial libraries.

The omission is to be regretted, for these, unlike most of the verses printed in 1814 alone, have real merit.

On the other hand, so many additions were made to the poems of 1814 that the number of short pieces in the two volumes was raised from thirty to sixty-nine. The additions include the *romance* « En una yegua tordilla... » dated (in the 1894 edition) 1806, and one of the poet's earliest known productions, and in fact nearly all the poems in the later editions which were written before 1814 but not included in the first small volume. The poet was becoming bolder, unless by chance he had not had access to these verses when compiling the earlier volume. The two tragedies of *El Duque de Aquitania* and *Malek Adhel* are also included in the second edition, the former dedicated in a lengthy verse epistle, « A mi amada hermana Doña María de la Candelaria de Saavedra ». It would appear that the first and second editions together contain all Saavedra's poetic output up to 1820 with the exceptions already noted, and with those of the *epístolas* to Vargas y Ponce and (a footnote to the 1894 edition explains why) of the ode to Fernando VII.

In describing Saavedra's stay in Paris Pastor Diaz mentions his visits to galleries and libraries, his military investigations and his intimate relations with Lord Holland¹, Destutt-Tracy and the artist Horace Vernet. We may assume, too, that he learned much of the literary upheaval which had even then begun in the French capital². After

• 1. Henry Richard Vassall Fox, third Lord Holland (1773-1840). Apart from his artistic tastes, which were considerable, his knowledge of Spain, where he had travelled extensively, would have drawn him to Saavedra. He was the author of lives of Lope de Vega (1806) and Guillén de Castro (1817) and he translated « Three Comedies from the Spanish » (1817).

2. The *Conservateur Littéraire* had been founded in December 1819

a seven months' stay he was preparing to go on to Italy, when, at the instance of Alcalá Galiano, who while *intendente* of Córdoba had formed a close friendship with the poet¹ and a high opinion of his talents and character, he found himself elected (Feb. 1822) as deputy for Córdoba to the new Cortes,² and thus launched almost involuntarily on a political career.

The events of 1820-1 had continued to separate very markedly the older liberals of 1812 from the younger, more passionate and more violent radicals of 1820. The ministry of Martínez de la Rosa was an eminently moderate one, and Saavedra, together with his patron Alcalá Galiano and his old friend Javier Istúriz, took a strong line of opposition to it. D. Angel seems to have been peculiarly disinterested and perhaps at first even lukewarm, in his alliance with the *exaltados*, whose supporters were for the most part of a temperament distinct from his own. Essentially an idealist and a poet, he neither had the makings of a demagogue nor aspired to become one³. He spoke little, and that little,

and Lamartine's *Méditations* appeared in 1820; Vigny's *Poèmes* and Victor Hugo's *Odes* were to follow in the year 1822.

1. See *Memorias de D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, publicadas por su hijo*, Madrid, 1886; 2 vol., where the author speaks of Rivas frequently as « mi amigo », and occasionally, as on II, 294, as « mi íntimo amigo D. Angel Saavedra ».

2. A clause in the Constitution of Cádiz forbidding the re-election to the Cortes of former deputies caused very radical changes in the *personnel* of the new body, and was responsible for the election of many untried and extremist members.

3. This is admirably borne out by the following piece of biography taken from the *Memorias de D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, publicadas por su hijo*, Madrid, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 258-9. The occasion was the sending of a *mensaje* to the King which amounted to a vote of censure on his ministers :

« Pasóse de allí a pocos días a extender el Mensaje y tocó este

though applauded for its evident sincerity and directness, showed no deep understanding of the difficult political situation. During 1822 he acted, efficiently enough as it seems, as Secretary of the Cortes ¹. With other deputies he witnessed the scenes of the 7th of July ² and he was naturally on the side of the radical ministry of Evaristo de San Miguel which was formed immediately afterwards ³. He was present at the session of October 1822 ⁴ which compelled

trabajo a mi amigo D. Angel de Saavedra, el cual lo desempeñó haciendo una obra más florida y galana en estilo y dicción, que política en su tono o efectos. Calificaron el Mensaje, tal y como se proponía, de oda o ditirambo los que no miraban con gusto que se elevase al trono de uno o de otro modo, y con esta calificación algo merecida, y por lo mismo de gran efecto, y con ir los ministros ganando terreno en el Congreso, vino a quedar, casi falto de valor el triunfo alcanzado por la parcialidad exaltada, así en este como en otros casos. »

1. Though once more Galiano (*ibid.*, p. 263) gives us an attractive glimpse of this amateur politician. (The Penal Code in question had been drawn up by the Cortes before its dissolution in February 1822.)

« El Código, aprobados todos sus artículos en el Congreso expirado en Febrero, había de ser elevado por su sucesor al Rey para recibir su sanción. Fué leído en las nuevas Cortes en voz alta, y por el diputado Saavedra, que hubo de divertirnos saltando artículos en su modo rápido de leer, salvando así, aunque sin daño, una formalidad inútil y enojosa. »

2. Cf. *Memorias de D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano*, Vol. II, pp. 302 ff.

3. The following note from the *Apuntes para la biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano* gives some idea of the part which he was playing :

« El día 11 de Enero [de 1823] se discutió un mensaje al Rey con motivo de las notas extendido por mí, en una comisión de que Argüelles y yo fuimos parte. Hablamos cinco diputados, apoyándola Saavedra, hoy duque de Rivas, Ferrer (don Joaquín), Canga Argüelles, Argüelles y yo por último. Recibimos aplausos frenéticos. » (p. 14.)

4. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 333 :

« Fueron convocadas Cortes extraordinarias, y para asistir a ellas salí yo de Córdoba en la noche del 30 de setiembre con mi amigo D. Angel de Saavedra en silla de posta. »

the King to sign a constitutional manifesto as a counter-blow to the proclamation of Seo d'Urgel, and in particular he was very prominent during the session extraordinary of March 1823, in which the Cortes discussed with such natural vehemence and indignation the attempt of France, together with Austria, Russia and Prussia, to interfere in the internal government of Spain¹. To Angel's ardent soul such demands as they made were intolerable and his active opposition marked him out even from among those of his party.

Tocóle en aquella discusión, says Pastor Diaz, hablar el primero a nuestro protagonista, y en una arenga acaloradísima, que acaso dió temple y tono al debate de aquel día, fué el intérprete fiel de las opiniones que embriagaban, por decirlo así, la delirante fantasía de los patriotas exaltados. Retó con ardor belicoso a la Europa y al mundo entero, y sus declamaciones y apasionadas frases rayaron en los límites de la demencia. El salón y las galerías se desplomaban en prolongados y estrepitosos aplausos, y su discurso, con los de Argüelles y Galiano, y de los demás oradores que tomaron parte en tan famoso debate, se imprimió y circuló profusamente dentro y fuera de España como un monumento notable².

Saavedra was influential in the transference of the Court to Sevilla³ and he was among those who voted for Alcalá

1. The ambassadors of these countries had presented notes, demanding the abolition of the Constitution of 1812, the liberation of the King from the power of the liberals, etc.

2. *Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. I, p. 52.

3. According to Alcalá Galiano (*Apuntes*, etc., p. 15, cited above) Saavedra and Galiano were both robbed on the journey :

« Salió el Rey y nos trasladamos a Andalucía, teniendo yo la desgracia de ser robado en el camino con mis amigos y colegas don Angel Saavedra y don José Grasses, después general. »

This was the occasion when the tragedy of *Doña Blanca* was lost. See note to the epistle to Vargas y Ponce beginning :

« He recibido tu donosa carta... »

Obras, ed. 1894, Vol. I, p. 292. Cf., p. 27 above.

Galiano's motion for the suspension of the King when Fernando on the approach of the French troops refused to leave Sevilla for Cádiz of his own will. On October 1st, when the King regained his liberty, and escaped, to use his own words, from « a handful of conspirators... and of obscure ambitious soldiers, unable even to write their own names, who posed as regenerators of Spain ¹ », Saavedra was planning flight to Gibraltar with Alcalá Galiano ². They were now proscribed exiles, like all those of their mind who had escaped with their lives, until the death of Fernando should set them free. We can imagine how sore was the parting for one who loved Spain so well, the more so since he left behind him, as he had foreseen he would, the lady of his affections ³.

1. From Fernando's diary, cited by Hume in *Modern Spain*, London, 1899, pp. 243-4.

2. According to Pastor Diaz they actually left Cádiz on the day of the King's liberation, in a Catalan boat (*op. cit.*, p. 53). Alcalá Galiano, however, thus describes the departure (*Memorias de Antonio Alcalá Galiano*, Vol. II, pp. 508-9) :

« Sin embargo, juntos ya los escasos recursos para poder emprender mi viaje, y no pudiendo demorarlo, resolví salir de Cádiz al día siguiente, 3 de Octubre. No era fácil encontrar barco en que efectuar mi fuga, sobre todo considerando cuan subido precio exigían algunos de los que tenían a su disposición buques de cualquier especie. Al cabo mi amigo D. Angel Saavedra y yo fletamos uno a precio razonable, siendo el que nos cupo en suerte una barca valenciana, de Vinaroz, de poco porte. Pasada, pues, la noche del 2 al 3, entre las penas en nuestra situación consiguientes, en la mañana del 3 nos embarcamos... Al entrar la noche quedósenos en calma el viento a la boca del Estrecho de Gibraltar, no sin trazas de venir a soplar un levante o sea, un viento E, recio casi siempre en aquellos mares, y que nos impediría pasar al Mediterráneo, donde estaba nuestra salvación... Echamos, pues, el ancla en el puerto inglés, aunque enclavado en España, cerca del mediodía del sábado 4 de Octubre de 1823. En aquel día empezó mi emigración, que duró once años. »

3. Whether or no this was the lady referred to earlier as Olimpia,

« ¡ Ay ! » he wrote to her from Gibraltar in a parting sonnet :

¡ Ah ! si en la proscripción y acerbo llanto
Que a mi infelice vida le prepara
La adversa suerte embravecida tanto

De vuestra lumbre celestial gozara,
De vuestro hechizo y delicioso encanto,
¡ Cómo de la fortuna me burlara !

When in the sober prose of eleven years later he recalled his departure from Spain, he disclosed another of his sorrows and the means by which he sought consolation :

Salí profugo y proscrito de esta patria, por cuya independencia derramé mi sangre, a cuya libertad he sacrificado de todos modos mi existencia. El no oír la dulce habla de mis mayores, fué acaso la privación más grande y una de las más dolorosas que he padecido durante mi prolongado destierro...

¡ Cuántas veces bajo los gigantescos árboles de los bosques de Kensington, en medio del borrasco mar Cantabrio, en las verdes aguas del Mediterráneo, entre los risueños riscos de Piombino y de Montenovo, sobre los dorados escollos de Malta, al través de las deliciosas islas del mar Egeo, en las apacibles márgenes del Loira, y en los simétricos jardines de Versalles, he hecho resonar el ambiente...

to whom Saavedra had predicted his exile (see I, 322) is doubtful. She is not referred to in this sonnet by name, but the line

Que más que humano angélico parece

suggests that she is the « Angélica divina » of *El Desterrado* (II, p. 51. Cf. p. 65.) As Saavedra was married less than a year later (see p. 51 below) one would naturally suppose « Angélica » to be a poetical name for the lady to whom he was affianced, but of this we have no certain proof. The *Moro Expósito* is also dedicated to Angélica (ed. 1894, p. 4, ll. 5 ff.).

1. *Obras*, ed. 1894, II, p. 35.

con una estancia de Garcilaso, con un soneto de Lope, con una quintilla de Gil Polo, con un sabroso párrafo de Cervantes ¹!

These years of political activity had left Saavedra little more time for literary work than had his earlier career as a soldier. During 1822-3, when on a visit to his brother at Córdoba, he had written (« in a few days », says Pastor Diaz) his tragedy entitled *Lanuza*. The theme of this is political; and although it will be treated more fully later it must be noticed here.

Neither as a tragedy nor as an historical drama can *Lanuza* be rated high. It is primarily a topical play which became a success in Spain at moments of national crisis when its applicability was most evident. Lanuza, the Justice of Aragon, who really perished upon the scaffold for anything but heroism, is made, by a bold disregard for historical truth, to symbolise liberalism protesting against monarchical tyranny ². Thus Philip II becomes Fer-

1. Discurso de Recepción leído en la Real Academia Española la tarde del 29 de Octubre de 1834.

2. Cf. *Lanuza*, I, 1, *passim*, referring to the father :

El buen Lanuza
Anciano justo, de virtud modelo,
Apoyado en las leyes y en el voto
De todas las ciudades de este reino...
... el fiel Lanuza,
De lealtad, de tesón, de canas lleno,...

and, referring to the son :

El patriotismo, la virtud, el celo
Del difunto Lanuza arden más vivos
Del joven hijo en el heroico seno,
Etc., etc.

nando VII¹, and is kept by the author discreetly in the background lest the parallel should appear too striking. But this restraint in no way weakens the general effect. Declamatory speeches like the following, rapidly succeeding one another, must have awakened latent memories in reader or spectator or touched hidden sympathies unerringly :

Heredia, yo no temo
Ni al rey Felipe ni al tropel de esclavos,
Que el nombre de soldado envileciendo,
Sirven a la opresión y tiranía :
Seres tan degradados los desprecio ².

Resuelto
A todo estoy : o libertad, o muerte;
Vida en la esclavitud yo no la quiero ³.

O muerte o libertad, el grito sea
De nuestras haces. Y el laurel eterno
Adornará nuestras gloriosas frentes,
Y o dulce muerte o libertad tendremos ⁴.

¡O Dios, eterno Dios, benigno mira
A este pueblo valiente, y con tu amparo
Guarde su libertad, guarde sus leyes,
Sin que haya menester para lograrlo
Apelar a la guerra asoladora,
Azote atroz del miserable humano ⁵!

1. Cf. *Lanuza*, I, 1.

... Orgullosa
El rey Filipo, en su poder soberbio,
Del Justicia mayor a las demandas
Con amenazas contestó y desprecios,
Insultando su bárbara osadía
La gloria y majestad de todo un pueblo.

2. *Lanuza*, I, 11.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Lanuza*, I, 11.

5. *Ibid.*, II, v.

Sólo rebeldes son los orgullosos,
Que en contra de las leyes se declaran ¹.
Sólo mandan
Los reyes por la fuerza irresistible
De la ley que juraron si la guardan
Mas al momento que la infringen pierden
Los derechos al solio, y lo profanan.

¡Triste del pueblo que en halagos fía
Y en ofertas capciosas de un monarca,
Que lo que hacer le ordena la justicia
Lo ofrece altivo cual si fuera gracia ² !

And the careful reader will not fail to be struck by a remarkably daring passage in the fourth act which can hardly but have been inspired by bitter experience of the faithlessness of Fernando el Deseado :

¡Cielos!... ¿Qué aciertan
A pronunciar vuestros infames labios?
¿Imagináis que un rey perdona ofensas?
¿Queréis vos mismos presentar el cuello
Al dogal del verdugo; entre cadenas
Ver los hijos, violadas las esposas,
En llamas la ciudad, casas y haciendas
Botín de forajidos, vuestra fama
En negro deshonor por siempre envuelta?
Ya no hay perdón. No le hay para nosotros,
Por más que los traidores nos le ofrezcan.
Sólo esperar nuestra salud nos cumple
De una firme y constante resistencia.

Lanuza was acted at Madrid and published during the winter of 1823; the edition was later, by authority, recalled. As may be imagined from the trend of events and the emotional condition of the capital, it enjoyed a considerable suc-

1. *Lanuza*, III, II.

2. *Ibid.*, IV, v.

cess, which was repeated in the provinces, and finds an echo as far away as London in a journal conducted by Spaniards in exile and entitled *Ocios de españoles emigrados*¹. The anonymous writer in this periodical describes the state of Spain when he was forced to leave it in 1819, its tolerance of the exile of its best men, its ignorance, servility and fanaticism. Then he shews how, during the three years just past, things have been very different. Education has revived, books of all kinds are once more appearing, and letters are receiving something like their due share of attention. And in support of his assertions he quotes the success of plays like Saavedra's. « ¿No vieron (los literatos) con sus ojos el impulso que recibió el gusto de la poesía dramática, y como en los teatros aquel pueblo creído bárbaro supo discernir y celebrar con aplauso las verdaderas bellezas del *Lanuza*, tragedia del joven Saavedra, y las de otras muchas composiciones? » The writer laments the return to reaction and despotism, but he does not add that among the victims of the change was the author of *Lanuza* himself.

But for this misfortune there were compensations. For now that both military and political activities were denied him, Angel de Saavedra turned once more to literature. The state of his health decided him to remain at Gibraltar for the winter. Thence he journeyed to England with a deputy named Manuel Marán, the Count of Almodóvar and other Spaniards on the packet boat *Francis Freeling* (May 1824). On the way he wrote the lyrics *A las estrellas* and *Super Flumina*², together with a poem of some length called *El Desterrado*³, and at or about the same time a

1. Vol. I, pp. 289-298. July 1824.

2. See pp. 146 ff., below.

3. The subscription is : « A bordo del paquete inglés *Francis Freeling* en Mayo de 1824, al salir de la bahía de Gibraltar con rumbo al oeste, al ponerse el sol. »

prose satire entitled *El Peso duro*. In London he wrote among other things two cantos of a poem in *octavas* called *Florinda*, the better known *Sueño del proscrito*¹ and *Cristóbal Colón*. The *Desterrado*² was published in *Ocios de españoles emigrados* (London, 1824-7) in July 1824 (Vol. II, p. 60) signed « A. de S³ » and later translated into English heroic couplets by a « Mr. B. Read⁴ ». It is one of the most moving and subjective of his poems, the invocations of his mother, his other relatives, his friends and his betrothed (« Angélica divina ») being almost painful in their intensity. He was feeling, as perhaps, even in his moments of prevision, he had never thought to feel, the bitterness of involuntary exile.

Sentenced to death and to the confiscation of his property, Angel de Saavedra remained in England

En olvido y en pobreza,
Y en amarga soledad
Bajo el cielo encapotado
Que de Londres la grandeza
Vela en densa oscuridad⁵.

while his brother, though less active politically, was nevertheless being persecuted in Spain. The climate of England,

1. « Sueño vago y sombrío, de inspiración osiánica, empapada en las nieblas húmedas del Támesis. » (*Op. cit.*, II, 693.)

2. Ochoa styles *El Desterrado* Saavedra's « primero y feliz ensayo romántico » (*op. cit.*, II, 693). See also pp. 148-150 below.

3. It is headed « Nos apresuramos a publicar la siguiente composición de un emigrado español bien conocido en el mundo literario por sus producciones poéticas ».

4. See *Ocios*, etc., Vol. II, p. 446, where a specimen of the translation is given. This is presumably the « Mr. B. Read of Richmond » who wrote « The Two Bourbons, or the War Cry of Paris and Madrid » (London, 1823) in verse.

5. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, *Memorias, etc.* (quoted above), Vol. II, p. 552.

however, he soon found trying to his health ¹, and, anxious to perfect himself in painting, which he practised with as much assiduity as literature, he determined to make efforts to visit Italy, which was forbidden ground to the Spanish *emigrados*. His mother endeavoured to get a passport for him from the Papal Nuncio in Madrid, who obtained the necessary permission from Rome, on condition that D. Angel would neither speak, write, nor mix with Englishmen while in Italy. The assurances were given, the exile left London at the end of December 1824 on the English brig *Aeschylus*, and after a stay of some six months at Gibraltar where he was married (to D^a María de la Encarnación de Cueto y Ortega) and wrote Canto III of *Florinda* ², he set sail again for Italy with his bride, and duly arrived at Liorna in July 1825. Here, however, the Roman consul declared that the passport must be submitted to Rome before he could proceed further in Italy. Genuine though the document was, Saavedra was forbidden on its return to enter the Roman States, and close upon this came a similar prohibition from the Government of Tuscany accompanied by demonstrations of force by the police of Liorna. The va-

1. Note, in the *Sueño del Proscrito*, a feeling reference to

« Las nieblas hórridas
Del frío Támesis »,

which he had to breathe

« En vez del bálsamo
Del aura plácida
Del cielo bético
Que tanto amé. »

2. The Canto was begun on the *Aeschylus*; it is dated, however, from Gibraltar (see *Obras*, Vol. II, p. 488).

rious methods which the poet tried in order to remain in Italy were all useless. In despair he went to Mr. Falconer, the British Consul, taking a second passport which Lord Chatham had given him in Gibraltar; this official shewed him the greatest courtesy, and entertained him until a ship bound for Malta came into Liorna. On this D. Angel and his wife set sail, and after some days' delay and a terrible storm in which the vessel owed its safety largely to his courage and skill, they landed at Malta with the intention of returning later to London ¹.

The agreeable climate of Malta, and the cordial welcome he received ² (partly owing to his being a Knight of the Order of St. John), decided him to remain on the island for at least a short time. He actually stayed there for five years writing and painting — the last under the tuition of a Roman artist called Hyzler.

So great was Saavedra's affection for Malta that in the *Moro Expósito* he makes Nuño, one of his characters, spend some time there in captivity, in order to allow himself a striking digression :

1. A summary of these events and a note on his stay in Malta will be found in the poet's own words in note 30 (Romance VI) to the *Moro Expósito*. *El Faro de Malta* (II, pp. 71-4. Cf. below, p. 152), written three years later, describes the scene in the boat when the lighthouse came into view.

2. Allí me recibiste, tú, y me honraste,
¡Oh venerable anciano, que las Indias
Venturosas hiciste, Hastings ilustre!
Mas, ¡ay! que de dolor pronto la isla

 Ví cubierta y de luto. Airada muerte
A su amor te robó — ¡Tremendo día!
Con el pueblo lloroso, hasta la tumba
Yo acompañé lloroso tus cenizas.

Arrebatado yo también, ¡oh Malta!
Por las borrascas de la suerte impía,
Harto, aunque joven, de encontrar a Europa
Poblada de traiciones y perfidias,
Huyendo de mi patria y de la tierra,
Tumba de gloria y de grandeza antigua,
Que el Arno, como un huérfano el sepulcro
De sus padres, con flores entapiza,
Sin más bien que mi amor, en rota nave,
Del viento y mar luchando con las iras,
A ti llegué, y en tus doradas rocas
Ví de mi juventud volar los días.
Mas no hallé, como Nuño, en ti cadenas
Ni sarracenos bárbaros : delicias,
Obsequios, compasión, tiernos amigos,
Alivio grato de las penas mías,
Venturoso encontré. Tu ardiente suelo,
Ya florido jardín por las fatigas
Del diestro agricultor, tus altas torres
Que períodos de gloria testifican,
Y tus buenos y honrados habitantes
Bajo el dominio hallé de la más rica,
Libre, ilustrada, noble y poderosa
Nación que el sol desde el Zodiaco admira.....
Woodford, Frere, Ponsonby, Zammit, Stilon,
Y tú que a Sancio tan de cerca imitas,
Hyzler, vuestra amistad, dulce consuelo
De todos mis afanes, está viva
En mi alma toda, y lo estará por siempre, etc. ¹.

He names his friends in Malta — the Marquis of Hastings, governor of the island ², General Woodford ³, John Hook-

1. *El Moro Expósito*, Romance VI, pp. 264-6.

2. Francis Rawdon-Hastings, first Marquis of Hastings (1754-1826), was appointed Governor of Malta March 22, 1824, but was only a few months in the island. He died on Nov. 28, 1826, off Naples.

3. See below, p. 88.

ham Frere¹; General, afterwards Sir Frederick, Ponsonby², and the rest — and then, before taking up again the thread of his narrative, apostrophises the island once more :

Y tú, risueña y deliciosa roca,
Asilo encantador, mansión tranquila,
Tú eres la patria de mis tiernos hijos,
Y podrás serlo para mi adoptiva.
¡Ah! Si el destino inexorable y duro
(Tanto rigor el cielo no permita)
Me robase del todo la esperanza
De hollar del Betis la región florida,
Y de aun gozar, en sus frondosos bosques,
Gallarda sierra y fértiles campiñas,
Dulce vejez y paz; al punto, al punto
En ti, oh Malta, el sepulcro buscaría.

Of these acquaintances the poet's especial friend and companion was John Hookham Frere, whose earlier career in Spain made him naturally enough remarkably sympathetic with the exiles. All students will recall the dedicatory letter to Frere which the poet prefixed to the *Moro Expósito* — his « Castilian foundling », as he calls it — and in which

1. He had been minister plenipotentiary at Lisbon in 1800, and in Madrid from 1802 to 1804. In 1808 he was again sent to Madrid, as plenipotentiary to the *Junta central*, and when, in the next year, he was succeeded by the Marquis of Wellesley he was created a *Marqués de la Unión* by the Junta in recognition of his efforts to promote a friendly spirit between Spain and England. It was on account of his wife's ill-health that Frere went to Malta in 1818 and he lived there until his death in 1846. Among his works are some translations from the *Poema del Cid*.

2. Major General Sir Frederick Cavendish Ponsonby (1783-1837) fought in the Spanish wars from 1809 to 1813, and succeeded the Marquis of Hastings as Governor of Malta (1826-1835).

he acknowledges his indebtedness, both as man and author :

... You have pointed out, and led me into the path in which I have entered, I am afraid, with more boldness than success.

Your friendship has cheered me in the gloomiest days of my exile. Your extensive knowledge and excellent literary taste has made that friendship no less useful than it was pleasing to me. Your love of my own dear country has been combined, in my case, with the feelings of concern in my misfortunes and interest for my improvement which I am proud of having excited in you, and the effects of which I have felt and do still feel...

I fear, I repeat, that I have not profited by your benefits as I ought — certainly not to the full extent of my wishes. Yet, whatever improvement there is in my poetical taste, it is owing to you, and will, I am sure, meet with your approbation and encouragement.

The relations between Saavedra and Frere were thus not limited to mere courtesies. Pastor Diaz tells us also — no doubt at first hand — of the collection of Spanish chronicles and the collected edition of Lope de Vega which Frere gave to his friend, the lessons in English literature, and the exhortations to follow his own tastes and record his own feelings and emotions. There can be no doubt, seeing what a fervid imagination the poet possessed, that this companionship was one of the first literary importance.

According to the account of Cueto, derived at first hand from the Duke, Frere's great work was the initiation of the young exile, not so much into the paths of Romanticism as into an understanding of the old romances¹. He had

1. Muchas veces me refirió el ilustre poeta la sorpresa que le causó oír de los labios de aquel antiguo diplomático inglés que los cantares rudos y espontáneos del pueblo, las rapsodias vulgares de la patria,

apparently not fully realised their beauty until Frere led him to see it, and, though his brother-in-law adds that his intercourse with Frere was also the cause of his throwing off the shackles of pseudo-classicism ¹, we shall see that there was enough of Romanticism in his nature and in his experiences to make the Englishman's help unnecessary here ².

Juan Valera, who spent many years in Rivas' company later in the latter's life, and is not a less trustworthy witness than Cueto, assures us that the Duke had long had the deepest knowledge of early Spanish poetry ³ and objects to the word « initiation » with which Cueto describes this period of Frere's influence: « ¿Cómo imaginar, según imagina Cueto, que el inglés John Frere fué en Malta su *iniciador*? John Frere, que valía y sabía, hubo de aconsejarle y guiarle; pero de esto a *iniciarle*, a transformarle en otro hombre, media enorme distancia ⁴. » In his view the evolution of the poet was a perfectly natural process in which the determining influences were not the reading of English or German criticism or poetry but the circumstances of his life and the general trend of European culture ⁵.

los cuentos y las tradiciones que en forma inculta y desaliñada había escuchado en Córdoba, en las dulces horas de la infancia, contienen un fondo de poesía más sincera y más seductora que la de los más primorosos y acicalados poemas artificiales (Cueto, *op. cit.*, p. 524).

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 524-5.

2. Cueto doubts this (p. 525) but a study of the evidence discussed in later chapters of this book is of necessity a preliminary to a discussion of the question.

3. Si lo que han escrito en verso los españoles, desde el origen de la lengua, se hubiese perdido, él hubiera podido formar un precioso y rico florilegio con cuanto guardaba en la memoria (Valera, *op. cit.*, p. 88).

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 109. « Bien podemos afirmar que no hubo tal transformación tampoco, sino al natural desenvolvimiento del espíritu del

Other writers not only reject this view, but even go farther than Cueto and think of Frere as leading Saavedra boldly into the paths of Romanticism.

Prendieron desde luego estos combustibles ¹, writes Pastor Diaz for example, en la ardiente imaginación de D. Angel. Hubo de pasarse al ver tantas bellezas y primores en lo que hasta entonces había mirado con desdeñoso menosprecio : hubo de presentársele la historia nacional como un tesoro soterrado, como una mina no beneficiada todavía, y en que había oro y pedrería a montones, y púsose con ahinco a explotarla, dejando a un lado las fajas de su infancia literaria, y rotas las trabas de la escuela ².

« ¿Quién sabe? » adds Pastor Diaz very pertinently, and indeed we are not at this point in our study in possession of sufficient data to judge so difficult a problem. The only certainty is that Saavedra did not become a Romantic of a sudden. After completing *Florinda* by writing the fourth and fifth cantos, he wrote two plays which, though they may well be considered as forming part of the main body of Saavedra's work, are nevertheless classical in the main. These are the tragedy of *Arias Gonzalo* (1826) ³ which seems

poeta, influido por los sucesos y circunstancias de su vida y por el movimiento general de la civilización europea », and following lines.

Again (p. 125) : « Yo entiendo que el Duque de Rivas fué el mismo antes y después de conocer a John Frere; que, a su modo, y dentro de su propia personalidad, fué siempre un hombre de su siglo, y que su romanticismo le bebió en parte en el ambiente que le rodeaba y en parte salió del centro de su ser propio, sin necesidad de preceptos ni de consejos. »

1. i. e. the various influences which Frere brought to bear upon him.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

3. This is the date assigned to it by Rivas himself in the 1854 edition. Others (presumably in error, though cf. p. 202, below. place it in 1827 or 1828, including the editor of the edition of 1894. Thus Hidalgo (*op. cit.*) has : « *Arias Gonzalo*, Tragedia en cinco actos,

never to have been played and was published only in 1894, and the Moratinian comedy *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* written in 1827 but published only in 1840. The exile found a solace in work, of whatever kind — « El ruego no abatió nunca su frente, la queja no manchó sus labios, la desesperación no agotó su firmeza ¹ », — and his work kept him cheerful and hopeful for the future.

In these same years Saavedra was beginning the series of works which were to make for him one of the great reputations of Spanish Romanticism. The first of these is the poem *Al faro de Malta* which has a biographical as well as a literary interest. In it he describes how he first caught sight of the lighthouse on his journey from Italy :

Cuando la vez primera deslumbraste
Mis afligidos ojos, ¡cuál mi pecho,
Destrozado y hundido en amargura,
Palpitó venturoso!

Del Lacio moribundo las riberas
Huyendo inhospitables, contrastado
Del viento y mar entre ásperos bajíos,
Ví tu lumbre divina.

Though only a short poem, *Al faro de Malta* has always been considered one of the first and best of Rivas' romantic lyrics, and as such has had an importance out of all proportion with its length ².

The chief monument which Saavedra raised in Malta,

escrita en la Isla de Malta en 1828, por el duque de Rivas. No se ha incluido en las Obras Completas del autor publicadas en 1854-1855, ni se ha impreso ni representado hasta ahora. » Cf. Cañete, p. xxvi of preface to 1854 edition.

1. From a review of the *Moro Expósito* in *El Observador*, Sept. 4, 1834.

2. The companion poems to the *Faro*, not being properly biographical, will be considered with it later.

however, is of course the famous *Moro Expósito*, begun in September 1829, finished in May 1833¹, and published in Paris in two volumes early in 1834. It is preceded by the dedicatory letter in English just mentioned to John Hookham Frere (dated December 1 1833), and by an important preface which we shall examine in a later chapter, and which, though anonymous, is now known to have been written by Antonio Alcalá Galiano². This preface deals with Romanticism in general more than with the *Moro Expósito*, being « an attempt to explain the literary doctrines which have been followed in the composition » of that work. But the words which no doubt struck its first readers were those of the bold declaration :

En suma, la siguiente composición no está sujeta a reglas : hablo de ciertas reglas, por doctos críticos repetidas veces condenadas, y desatendidas por los mejores poetas contemporáneos en toda Europa³.

The *Moro Expósito*, with its audacious yet temperate preface, was generally recognised on its appearance as the harbinger of Romanticism in Spain, even though there was some difference of opinion as to whether it should be properly termed romantic or not⁴. It was excellently recei-

1. See *El Moro Expósito*, ed. 1894, p. 41. « Se empezó esta obra en la isla de Malta, en una casa de campo que está a la orilla del mar, por el mes de Septiembre del año 1829. » At the end of Romance 5 we find « Malta 1829 »; Romance 10 has the subscription « Paris, 1832 » (see below, p. 65) and the concluding Romance « Tours, Mayo de 1833 ».

2. His name is not mentioned until the collected edition of 1854, in which the prologue bears the heading « Prólogo de la Edición de París escrito a nombre del autor por el Excmo. Señor D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano ».

3. *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

4. « Esta invasión (sc. romántica) sería realmente estrepitosa, si el Sr. de Saavedra llega a encontrar muchos sectarios y diremos

ved. The *Revista Española*, which published on May 23 and 24 1834 two long unsigned articles, anticipates almost all the later criticisms of any weight which have been passed on the poem, and concludes, as it begins, on a note of high praise¹. More important still, it realises fully that in this work Spain has an important contribution to her national Romanticism, which has at length taken definite shape. The *Observador* of Sept. 4 1834 has an equally eulogistic article (signed « R. H. y S. ») commending the work to all lovers of literature, and adding « Al leer el nombre del autor ya empieza a interesar la obra² ». This is of itself a remark significant of the success of the exile's achievements.

In a so-called « Appendix » to the second volume of the *Moro Expósito*³ were published the *Florinda* (pp. 213-334), certain short lyrics composed between the years 1824 and 1832⁴ (pp. 337-360) and five poems (pp. 361-475) afterwards in-

ingenuamente nuestro sentir : al decir sus sectarios juzgamos que más podrá ganarlos con los argumentos desenvueltos en el prólogo, que con los ejemplos suministrados en los doce romances de su leyenda, pues es preciso convenir en que ésta no es una composición esencialmente romántica. » (*Revista española*, May 23 1834.)

1. See, for a detailed account of this important notice, an article by the present writer, entitled « *The Moro Expósito* and Spanish Romanticism » in *Studies in Philology*, XIX, 3.

2. A sentence of the review worth quoting here is this, which betrays a singular method of regarding the poem and a singularly low standard of work with which to compare it :

« Las muchas máximas morales que la enriquecen, propias del asunto donde están colocadas, brotan naturalmente de los sucesos mismos, y en vez de detener la marcha rápida del poema, facilitan su comprensión y amplían sus detalles. »

3. The *Moro* ends at p. 201; the « appendix » fills pp. 205-498.

4. *A las Estrellas*; *El Sueño del Proscrito*; *A los... Marqueses de Santa Cruz (Epitalamio)*; *Al Faro del Puerto de Malta*; *A mi hijo Gonzalo*.

cluded in the volume called *Romances históricos* and entitled *La Vuelta deseada, El Sombrero, El Conde de Villamediana, Don Alvaro de Luna* and *El Alcázar de Sevilla*. A preface to this appendix (pp. 205-210) written by the publishers, and, like the letter to Frere, dated Dec. 1 1833, explains that these additions were made at their request, to which the author complied with some hesitation. The preface makes it as clear as Alcalá Galiano's preface to the *Moro Expósito* that this latter work was intended to open the new paths of Romanticism to all who cared to follow. It was lest this should be misunderstood that Rivas was unwilling to include *Florinda* and the lyrics in the second volume¹. The publishers therefore emphasise it for him in their preface, enlarge upon the brilliant future awaiting the Romantics², and declare with great volubility in the concluding lines how this poet of 1834 is entirely another person than the versifier of 1820, and the obvious leader-to-be of the Romantic school :

A medida que se ha desembarazado de tales andaderas, y que se ha atrevido a sacar las imágenes, símiles y colorido de su corazón, y del tesoro inagotable de la naturaleza, y no de lo que otros han dejado escrito; su tono se ha robus-

1. « Puso alguna dificultad en acceder a nuestros deseos, por que los suyos eran de que el público juzgase, si había o no acertado en la tentación de tomar un rumbo, nuevo entre nosotros, y un metro no acostumbrado para esta clase de poemas, sin implicar al *Expósito* en la censura, que sin duda merecerían otras obras menos estudiadas. » (*Ibid.*, p. 205.)

2. « Siempre hallarán los jóvenes grandes ventajas en abrazar un método de vida, que ensanche e ilustre el campo de su imaginación; les haga sacudir el polvo de la escuela, para que abandonando la senda de la fría imitación, de fisonomía propia a sus pensamientos, escribiendo no por recuerdos sino por inspiración, y de consiguiente con originalidad; y los familiarice insensiblemente con los hombres y libros de la Europa culta. » (Pp. 209-10.)

tecido, ha ganado mucho en valentía y originalidad su pincel, y no parece ya el poeta de 1820, ni siquiera en las odas *A las estrellas*, *Al Faro de Malta*, y *A su hijo Gonzalo*. Es por tanto de esperar, que la juventud española no tardará en reconocer con él, que las luces y necesidades de nuestra época están clamando por que se sacudan los grillos que el culto ciego del *clasicismo* nos había impuesto; y cuando, a despecho de la escuela del siglo de Luis XIV, logre la independencia del pensamiento, como conquistó la nacional contra las huestes de Napoleón, no podrá menos de repetir con nosotros, que en medio de pocos bienes, los males, los más grandes males nos han venido siempre de nuestros vecinos ¹.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

III

1830-1835. — Saavedra leaves Malta. — His stay in France. — The composition of *Don Alvaro* : divergent narratives. — Its performance and reception. — Its treatment by the press. — Death of Fernando VII. — Saavedra returns to Spain. — He succeeds to the title.

In spite of the pleasantness of Saavedra's life in Malta, it was only natural that he should wish to be nearer his own country. In 1830, therefore, he succeeded in obtaining a passport for France, proposing to visit Paris with his wife and his three little sons, all of whom had been born in Malta. He left in March 1830, in the schooner the *Lady Emily*, which Ponsonby had generously placed at his disposal¹. In *La Sombra del Trovador*, written shortly after his arrival at Marseilles, he describes the approach to the French coast and his landing :

A pequeña distancia,
En azuladas cumbres se ofrecieron
Montes y selvas de la rica Francia,

1. Less than two years later, from Nov. 22 to Dec. 14 1831, Sir Walter Scott made a brief stay in Malta, where he came into close contact with Frere, whom he already knew, and with various others among those who had known Saavedra. We may imagine what effect a meeting with Scott might have had on the exiled poet, who was already, as will later be seen, strongly under his literary influence.

Y mis ojos por ella se extendieron.
Latió mi pecho, ardió mi fantasía,
Nobles altos recuerdos me agitaron...

(Y) lancéme el primero
A la cercana orilla presuroso;
Mas los ojos tornando
Al pabellón glorioso,
Asilo en mi infortunio y mis pesares,
Dominador de los extensos mares.

Besé la hierba do estampé la planta...
Corrí en pos de mis dulces ilusiones
A perderme en las selvas y collados ¹.

Unfortunately, he had hardly landed when political hindrances once more beset him. Polignac's reactionary government had come into power, and instead of proceeding to Paris Saavedra had to take refuge with his family at Orleans. Here he found himself almost without means; and he was forced for a time to make his living by setting up a school of painting. It is interesting to reflect that he had received his early education from French victims of the same kind of disaster as had befallen him, and agreeable to learn that the Musée d'Orléans paid a good price for one of his pictures.

Four months after his arrival at Orleans the July Revolution broke out, and Saavedra was able to go to Paris and join his friends Istúriz and Alcalá Galiano who were also there. He shared rooms for a time with the latter ². His in-

1. *Obras*, ed. 1894, II, 87, 89, 90.

2. See Alcalá Galiano's posthumous memoirs, cited above, where he says : « Me acompañó (a Tours) mi amigo don Angel Saavedra con su familia, estando las dos nuestras entonces siempre juntas, porque a nuestros vínculos antiguos se agregaba estar viviendo en París en dos cuartos de una misma casa, y no separarnos sino

terests now seem to have been literary and artistic rather than political. Some of his portraits were hung in the Louvre Exhibition in 1831 and in the same year his name appears in a year book and directory of artists living in Paris. When for a time he was forced by the outbreak of cholera to go to Tours, he continued his painting, gave the finishing touches to the *Moro Expósito*¹ and wrote a prose draft of *Don Alvaro*, which was translated into French with the idea of its being played in Paris².

A reported conversation between Rivas and Alcalá Galiano, told by the latter, is of the greatest interest in this connection :

Nos hallábamos Saavedra y yo en el extranjero en la época del pleno romanticismo y le ocurrió a D. Angel escribir un drama arreglado a aquel patrón.

Pues nada más fácil, le repliqué; recuerde usted algunos de los cuentos que allá en su niñez debió oír en Córdoba³, y cualquiera de ellos tiene miga para una composición dramática.

Relató Saavedra una historia... y otra... y otra tercera, en la cual salió a relucir el *Indiano*...

las horas de comer y dormir. » (*Apuntes para la biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, escritos por él mismo*, Madrid, 1865, p. 23.)

1. *Moro Expósito*, ed. cit., p. 276. « Se concluyó esta obra, después de una larga interrupción, en Tours el año 1832. » Nevertheless, as has been said above, the date on the completed work is that of May 1833.

2. According to the brief additions made by Alcalá Galiano's son to the *Apuntes* (note above), p. 536, the father played a very large part in the composition of the play :

« Durante su emigración en Tours hizo, en colaboración con el duque de Rivas, el plan del famoso drama *Don Alvaro*, y para sacar de él algún provecho se pensó representarle en Francia, a cuyo efecto llegó a escribirlo todo él, o poco menos, en lengua francesa. »

3. See the dedication to Alcalá Galiano, reprinted below, pp. 82-3.

¡Basta! No siga usted más. Ese cuento, bien arreglado, será de gran efecto teatral. Manos a la obra ¹.

It is commonly said that *Don Alvaro* was translated into French by Alcalá Galiano and was not actually performed in Paris at the time. The *Diario de Cádiz*, however, published a contradiction of both these statements, — when they were made by Funes, — over the signature *Un Viejo*, which Funes tells us is that of the celebrated stylist Thebussen. This writer affirms that Prosper Mérimée was the translator, and that the play was actually given in the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin ². Juan Valera, on the other hand, sides with the majority, and states (at first hand) that the translation was Alcalá Galiano's and that Prosper Mérimée merely saw it after completion ³.

1. Thebussen in the *Diario de Cádiz*, quoted by E. Funes, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4, note.

2. The remainder of the communication referred to runs thus : « Se escribió el drama que fué traducido al francés; y aún cuando D. Antonio [i. e. Alcalá Galiano] escribía el francés y el inglés con la misma facilidad que el castellano, no fué él quien lo puso en el idioma de Molière, como dijo D. Manuel Cañete, sino el insigne hispanófilo Prosper Mérimée.

« Representóse en el teatro de la Porte Saint-Martin, de París, y esta circunstancia, añadía Galiano, fué la que hizo decir a un caballero que se hallaba próximo a mi sitio en una de las representaciones dadas en Madrid, que el drama no era más que la endeble traducción o arreglo de cierta composición francesa.

« La dedicatoria del *Don Alvaro* a Galiano debió fundarse no sólo en su amistad, como en ella se explica, sino también en la parte o especie de padrinazgo, que D. Antonio tuvo en el nacimiento del famoso drama. »

Ochoa (*op. cit.*, p. 694) says that it was the granting of the amnesty and the return of Saavedra to Spain which were the cause of the drama not being played in Paris.

3. Juan Valera, *op. cit.*, p. 176 : « Parece que Don Antonio Alcalá Galiano, que estaba en París con el Duque, y también emigrado,

Presumably Thebussen had not read the dedicatory preface to the 1835 edition, which seems decisive¹. We may incline then rather to credit another story, related by Hidalgo², which makes Alcalá Galiano the translator of the play and places the scene of its composition in Paris.

He aquí su verdadera historia :

Un día (en tiempo de la emigración) se paseaban juntos por el jardín de Luxembourg, Galiano y el duque; divagaban en la conversación y Galiano dijo :

« Angel, debías escribir algo para ese teatrazo de la Porte-Saint-Martin; tú lo escribes en castellano y yo hago la versión francesa; es negocio de honra y provecho. »

Y escribió el duque el *Don Alvaro*, se entiende que en prosa; empezaron a luchar con los actores, siempre tropezando con dificultades, hasta que una actriz dió al duque el golpe de gracia desesperanzándole enteramente; quemado al considerar tanto paso inútil, tanto desarreglar, suprimir, poner escenas, la emprendió contra el manuscrito y lo quemó.

Pasó el tiempo de la emigración. Un día que se hallaban en el Congreso, le dijo Toreno :

« ¿Qué es de aquel drama *célebre* que escribistes? »

« Lo quemé. »

« Debías ponerlo en verso, porque debes tener el argumento en la cabeza y no sería malo. »

Lo hizo en seguida, y ya se sabe lo demás; en la primera lectura Quintana fué favorable al drama; pero Gallego se levantó y dijo : « ¡Señores, esta es la obra de un gran poeta; pero ese poeta está loco³!... »

fue quien tradujo el drama. Ya traducido, autor y traductor entregaron el drama a Próspero Mérimée, el cual anduvo entreteniéndolos largos meses con halagüeñas esperanzas que jamás se realizaron. » He adds of this story : « Por cierta la doy, pues creo recordar haberse oído al mismo Duque y a Galiano. » (p. 177.)

1. Quoted below, p. 82.

2. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 335. No source is given nor comment made upon the narrative, which is reproduced above as it stands.

3. Mesonero Romanos (*Memorias de un Setentón*, Madrid, 1881,

Although Fernando's first amnesty of Oct. 15 1832 did not include those bold spirits who like Saavedra had voted for the regency nine years earlier, or who had led armed forces against the crown, it was clear that the exile, with the King's life, would soon be at an end, and the poet felt it safe to let his family return to Madrid, while he himself went to Paris. Here the *Moro Expósito* and *Florinda*, together with the lyrics and historical romances mentioned above, were published by Vicente Salvá. After Fernando's death on Sept. 29 1833 the amnesty was extended to all Spaniards in exile, and Angel de Saavedra finally returned to his country on Jan. 1 1834. He came by Perpignan and Barcelona to Madrid, having sworn fealty to the infant Queen at Figueras. On May 12 of the same year¹, Angel's brother died of pneumonia, leaving no son to succeed him. The poet thus succeeded to the title of Duque de Rivas by which he is best known in literature.

It seems as if, all his life long, some new factor were destined to disturb its course, whenever it appeared likely to take one definite direction. His growing success as a writer might well have led him to abandon an actively political life. He had shed during his exile many of his more advanced radical views, and modified considerably his somewhat idealistic position. No longer the intrepid liberal who in 1823 had demanded the deposition of Fernando, he was ready, unlike many of the returned exiles, to accept the *Estatuto Real* which was promulgated in April 1834. As a Grandee of Spain, however, he could not escape the responsibilities of a seat in the new *Estamento de Próceres*

p. 146) remarks that Saavedra read him a few scenes from *Don Alvaro* in Paris in the year 1833.

1. Some writers say May 5 and others May 15, but the usual date given is May 12.

(July 24 1834), which were enhanced by his appointment as secretary¹. His old friend and adversary, Martínez de la Rosa, was in power, and the Duke made a notable speech in temperate opposition to him, in the initial debate on the address from the Throne. This speech, carefully reasoned and moderate as it was in tone, was warmly applauded, it is said, by Rivas' opponents as well as by his friends.

Turning again to literature, Rivas determined to produce *Don Alvaro*. He put it into verse in the short space of a fortnight, revising it at the same time and making many alterations². It was then given at the *Teatro del Príncipe* (March 22 1835)³ and afterwards reproduced at a number of provincial theatres. In a later chapter we shall have occasion to consider in detail the merits and defects of the play, but this is perhaps the best place to estimate the nature of the reception with which it met at the hands of the Spanish public.

It is surely significant of the deplorable neglect with which the critics have treated the Romantic period in Spain that there should be any difference of opinion whatever upon the purely historical question of the success or failure of what admittedly was the first truly Romantic drama to be played in Spain. Partisans of the Duke, substituting rhetorical questions for historical facts, have made the wildest general statements, which have led to equally misleading exaggerations on the side of those who think his work of less abiding value. In face of these contradictions we shall content ourselves with bringing to light such facts as can be ascertained.

1. Diego Clemencín was first appointed, with the Duque de Rivas as *segundo secretario*, but (as though by the « fuerza del sino ») he died on the day following his appointment, and Rivas succeeded him.

2. See quotation from Hidalgo, p. 67 above.

3. See Mesonero Romanos' *Manual de Madrid*, cit. Azorín, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

It had been hoped to produce *Don Alvaro* on the Saturday preceding its actual representation, but at the last moment it was not ready, and it had to be put off until the following day¹. On the Sunday the press had the following brief announcement :

Teatro del Príncipe. A las siete de la noche; se pondrá en escena *Don Alvaro, o la fuerza del sino*, drama en 5 jornadas, en prosa y verso, de D. Angel Saavedra (duque de Rivas)².

1. The official notice, reproduced in the *Abeja*, *Eco del Comercio* and *Observador*, is as follows (Mar. 21 1835) :

Teatro del Príncipe. Mañana domingo 22, a las siete de la noche; se representará un drama nuevo en 5 jornadas en *prosa y verso*, titulado : *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino*. Las representaciones de este drama debían haberse empezado hoy sábado; pero no habiendo presentado el ensayo general, que de él se hizo anoche, la seguridad que requiere el complicado juego de sus principales escenas, se ha organizado en su lugar la siguiente función : 1. *Sinfonía*. 2. *Shakespeare enamorado*, comedia en un acto. 3. *Baile inglés*. 4. *La familia del boticario*, pieza de gracioso en un acto. 5. La orquesta tocará varias piezas de las mejores óperas. 6. *El cuakero y la cómica*, comedia en dos actos. 7. *Terceto de baile*.

2. The title rôle was filled by José García Luna; the part of Leonor by Concepción Rodríguez. Antonio Guzmán took that of the Hermano Melitón. « C. A. » (? Campo Alange) in the *Artista* for 1835 (p. 156) says of them : « Desempeñan bastante bien sus papeles. Luna tiene momentos muy felices, sobre todo en las situaciones puramente dramáticas; pero no nos satisface igualmente en la parte fantástica del papel de D. Alvaro. »

The critic of the *Revista Española* (see below, p. 75) says on March 25 1835 :

De los actores diremos que la señora Concepción Rodríguez estuvo como siempre feliz; que la señora Díez nos hechizó como gitana; que el señor Luna hasta el cuarto acto nos satisfizo sobre manera, pero en el quinto se desentonó un poco; y que los demás actores se portaron medianamente salvo el padre guardián cuyo tonillo era inaguantable, y tenía más de música que de conversación.

Cf. also Funes, *op. cit.*, p. 101-3.

A number of press notices make it clear that the play was looked forward to with unusual interest. « *Muy pronto* », says the *Correo de las Damas* on March 21

Muy pronto, se representará en los teatros de esta corte un drama-escrito por el señor duque de Rivas, cuyo título es *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino*. Según la corta idea que tenemos de su argumento, no hay duda en que será románticamente romántico. Los personajes son muchos, los lugares de la escena varían, los géneros distintos de muchos en que está escrito, tantos acaso como pueden salir de la acreditada pluma del señor duque. Pronosticamos, desde luego, que esta producción causará grande efecto, y sabemos que igual pronóstico han hecho oráculos más fidedignos que nosotros.

The next day, « R. C. », in the *Abeja*, wrote :

Hoy es el día destinado para la primera representación de *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino*. No pocas veces hemos oído decir que el *romanticismo* es en literatura lo que la libertad en política. Si ese aserto es falso, no por eso dejaremos de ponernos de parte del que sacudiendo las mezquinas trabas que el rigor de los clásicos impuso al vuelo de la inspiración, consulta sola a su alma para transmitir los afectos que experimenta; y si es verdadero como lo hemos leído en un periódico de esta capital, no dudamos que el público que ha dado y da tantas pruebas de querer toda la libertad posible para su patria quiera sólo *cadenas* para nuestra escena. El público es difícil que se equivoque cuando falla en masa ; esta es la idea más halagüeña que concibe el que escribe acerca del éxito de un drama, que si no corresponde a sus esperanzas, será sin duda porque también a veces es un defecto en el poeta tener una imaginación demasiado ardiente.

Pastor Diaz would have us believe that *Don Alvaro* was a stupendous success :

Recibióle el público, primero con asombro, después con largos y estrepitosos aplausos. Todos los teatros de España reprodujeron este drama singular, que sigue representándose y excitando siempre la admiración, el interés y la sorpresa ¹.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

In support of this I have found very little evidence except in

Presumably the *asombro* accounts for the fact that neither the *Observador*, the *Abeja*, the *Eco del Comercio* nor the *Revista Española* — practically the only dailies in Madrid which ever treated of literature — has a word to say of the drama on March 23rd. The *Abeja* and the *Revista Española* have not a word on the 24th¹. The *Gaceta de Madrid* has nothing

Valencia where *Don Alvaro* was wonderfully successful during the years 1835-8. It was given sixteen times between Oct. 17 1835 and Dec. 25 1838, or more frequently than any other play. Only *El Trovador*, with thirteen performances, can approach it. The following announcement (from the *Diario Mercantil de Valencia*, Oct. 17 1835) is interesting and significant :

Hoy se ejecutará el gran drama en cinco actos, dos de ellos divididos por medio de un telón suplente, para dar treguas a los maquinistas a colocar la escena, titulado *D. Alvaro o sea la fuerza del sino*; original del Excelentísimo Sr. Duque de Rivas. En él se presentarán varios aficionados que se han prestado a desempeñar algunos papeles, sin más interés que el de que no carezcan sus compatriotas de tan extraña romántica composición.

I have also been through the press files of Barcelona, Sevilla and Cádiz, but the results are much less important than in Valencia.

It is of interest here to quote an anonymous critic who, writing in the *Eco del Comercio* (May 25 1835) of the *Alfredo* of Pacheco, which on the preceding night had been given to a half-empty house and had met with a mixed reception, adds : « Al menos en dramas como *D. Alvaro* se tiene seguridad de atraer a la multitud; que no debe ser lo que menos importa a la empresa : nosotros en su lugar siempre preferiríamos las jornadas del indiano a los actos del fatalista de Sicilia. »

1. As Azorín (*Rivas y Larra*, p. 77) points out, the work of the historian of Rivas has been made very much more difficult here by the fact that the principal relevant articles have been deliberately cut out of the Biblioteca Nacional copies of the papers referred to. Let it be set down that the *Abeja* of March 25 1835 is thus mutilated; that the *Observador* lacks the first sheet of March 24; that the whole number of March 24 in the *Eco del Comercio* is missing, and that the *Correo de las Damas* has had torn out an article abusing *Don Alvaro* which appeared on March 28 and to which reference is made in the

at all. And the first life of the play was as follows : It was performed nightly from March 22 to March 28 and on the afternoon of the 29th. On the 30th it gave place to a play entitled *Juan de Calás*, which had had a successful run thirteen years before¹. On the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of April it was given once more before being finally taken off again. Eleven representations² in all at a theatre holding a maximum of 1236 spectators : not precisely, one would say, a stupendous success!

There was certainly, however, a good deal of controversy provoked by the somewhat violent character of the drama

number dated April 3. I have not been able to find these numbers either in the Hemeroteca de Madrid, or in any other library, either of the capital or provinces.

1. See *Eco del Comercio*, March 30 1835. « A las siete de la noche se volverá a poner en escena el interesante drama trágico en cinco actos, titulado : *Juan de Calás o la escuela de los jueces*, el cual obtuvo los mayores aplausos en el año 1822, desde cuya época no ha podido representarse hasta ahora en nuestros teatros. Seguirá un terceto de baile, dando fin con la comedia en un acto titulada : *El gastrónomo sin dinero*. »

2. Azorín (*op. cit.*, p. 69) calls the number twelve. Unless he has some evidence, unknown to me and uncited by him, that there were two performances on one day, I take it that he has miscounted!

A stranger discrepancy is one between this account and that given by the critic of the *Revista Española* in his second article, on April 12 1835. It seems almost impossible that he should have understated his case by omitting two performances. The relevant lines are as follows :

« Acabaron las representaciones de don Alvaro, nueve, digan cuanto quieran los detractores del drama, nueve, y sobre números no hay disputa, nueve muy concurridas todas, y acabadas; ya está vista la causa en primera instancia, vista con detención, vista por jueces numerosos, y las amenazas en amenazas se quedaron y no ha recaído sobre el reo sentencia de muerte, sino que vive, y largos años viva y sea padre de una larga progenie en quien revivan las antiguas glorias del teatro castellano.

and its apparent fatalism which some thought real and others not ¹. The half-apologetic mention in the *Eco del Comercio* quoted above ² suggests that the merits of the play were disputed. An anti-Romantic article in the *Observador* definitely asserts that there was a literary « quarrel ³ »; the *Correo de las Damas* publishes an article which condemns *Don Alvaro* with great vigour; the *Abeja* prints a reply; and the *Correo de las Damas* retorts again. « Una cosa es insultar y otra probar que el *Don Alvaro* es bueno y la crítica de *El Correo* mala... Acaeció la representación de *Don Alvaro* y tal vez con la fuerza de su sino ⁴ dió ocasión a que generalmente disgustase a todo el mundo. » Further, it asserts that the celebrity and high station of the author saved the play much harsher treatment than it received, concluding « Hablaron de esta composición los periódicos; todas las críticas vinieron a confesar que su autor había

1. Cf. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos in *Semanario Pintoresco*, 1842, p. 399.

« El efecto producido por esta composición, fué el que era de inferir, de tan grande innovación. El público y los inteligentes disputaron sobre su enormidad : cual la apellidó una obra sublime; cual la miró como un monstruo dramático; y desde entonces nuestros bandos literarios llegaron a separarse... »

2. See note 1, p. 71 above.

3. It begins (April 15 1835) in this way (italics mine) :

« Tendido me hallaba sobre el blando lecho una de aquellas noches en que se había representado el *Don Alvaro*, más despierto que un Argos, y sin poder ahuyentar de mi asendereada imaginación la tremebunda algazara que con este motivo se ha levantado entre clásicos y románticos... »

4. The sub-title of *Don Alvaro* seems to have been in everybody's mouth for some little time after its appearance. Mesonero Romanos, for example, uses it twice in his *Panorama Matritense* (ed. 1862, pp. 333, 395, May and September 1835 respectively) placing the phrase each time in italics but giving no explanation of the allusion.

llevado hasta tal punto, a tal grado de exageración la libertad romántica, mal dije, que pasaba la raya de todo lo permitido y tolerado. Embozaron todos su desaprobación con elogios de que el autor no necesitaba a la sazón ».

On March 25 appeared in the *Revista Española* an article on *Don Alvaro*, followed by a second on April 12. Neither of these bears any subscription and they were assumed by Azorín to be both by Larra¹; Sr. Lomba y Pedraja², however, shows that they are probably, almost certainly, the work of Antonio Alcalá Galiano³. « If anyone doubts

1. *Rivas y Larra*, p. 80. « El día 25 publicó la *Revista Española* un folletón dedicado al estreno. No lleva firma; pero es de Larra. El estilo es de Larra; las citas son de Larra. En el folletón publicaba aquí Larra sus artículos... El artículo de Larra no está recogido en las obras completas — que no son completas — del autor. » It may be added that not only was he the dramatic critic of the *Revista Española* but a number of articles known to be by him and included in his works appear, unsigned, in that periodical.

2. In an article — « Mariano José de Larra (*Figaro*) como crítico literario » (*La Lectura*, 1920) Sect. IV — the critic speaks of « el mismo Alcalá Galiano, cuyos son indudablemente los dos artículos que publicó, sin firma, la *Revista Española* sobre la nueva producción literaria en 25 de Marzo y 12 de Abril, en los cuales poco menos que se declara coautor de la obra... » A note says « Azorín atribuyó este artículo a Larra equivocadamente, sin duda por no haber llegado en sus indagaciones hasta el número de 12 de Abril de la *Revista Española*. » The passage on which Sr. Lomba bases his statement is reproduced in note below.

3. The question, nevertheless, is not so easily answered. Apart from the difficulty that one who had collaborated with the writer of a play in constructing its plan (*Memorias*, etc. II, 536, quoted above p. 65) would hardly say « No tengo parte principal en (su) composición », it is uncertain whether Alcalá Galiano ever wrote for the *Revista Española* at all. On p. 37 of the *Apuntes*, etc. (Madrid, 1865), he gives a complete list of his writings and puts in : « En 1835 y 1836, hasta Marzo, una parte considerable de los (artículos) de la Revista. » This might be the *Revista Española*, especially as he mentions sepa-

that we are witnessing a revolution », begins the first article, « let him see this play ¹ ». « Nueva comedia, o drama, o lo que fuere... lo cierto es que don Alvaro es obra de especie muy distinta de cuanto hemos visto de algún tiempo acá y estamos viendo en nuestro teatro. »

The hero is first discussed, then the local colour ², the beauty of the versification ³, the actors and the scenery. There is no hint that a second instalment is to follow. When it comes, it is evidently inspired by attacks on the play which have appeared. The critic writes avowedly as the play's most fervent advocate and will continue so to write ⁴.

rately the *Revista de Madrid* and the *Revista Europea*, the other claimants to the title, but his son, copying and editing this list in the Appendix to Volume II of *Memorias*, etc. (see p. 65 above) substitutes for the last three words « de la revista *El Mensajero* » which is mentioned immediately above that entry. This seems an unlikely change, and the earlier entry by the father himself should be the more trustworthy, yet one would have thought that the son would have known of his father's authorship of these important articles with their biographical reference had they actually been by Alcalá Galiano.

On the whole, however, I incline to agree with Sr. Lomba y Pedraja, for it is hard to see who else could have written the words quoted in note 6 below.

1. The opening words are : « Quien niegue o dude que estamos en revolución, que vaya al teatro del Príncipe. »
2. And especially the use of Andalusian language.
3. « Versos que han de deleitar todos los oídos salvo aquellos embozados por la preocupación. »
4. Ya dije al tratar de esta pieza que me constituía su abogado y abogado he sido, y como tal hablo, y estoy resuelto a hablar ahora y en adelante... No tengo parte, hablando propiamente, o no tengo parte principal en la composición de don Alvaro, pero le ví nacer y crecer, y en cuanto podía mi poquedad ayudé a su crecimiento, y tengo amor entrañable, amor casi paternal a la criatura, dimanado quizá del amor casi fraternal que me une con el padre. Y por otra

The attacks on Don Alvaro are really attacks on Romanticism. « El pobre *Don Alvaro* está pagando los delitos de su familia a causa de haberse descarriado y vivir entre desconocidos. » He defends it from the charges of immorality¹ and lack of interest²; from the charge that there are scenes in bad prose³ and that these scenes are unconnected and episodic³. Finally after dealing with some trivial criticisms, he concludes by saying that a « literato de grandes talentos » has promised to defend it further, and that its fate may be left in his more capable hands.

These are long and interesting articles, not least so because of the expressed conviction of the writer that Spanish Romanticism has come into its own. For, he says, in all the adverse criticism of the drama it is significant that none of its detractors cites Horace against it : the age of domination is dead!

Hemos de señalar un triunfo en primer lugar, triunfo grande, triunfo innegable; todos los escritores que se han ensayado sobre el asunto

parte en cuanto al género del drama me confieso acalorado, tenazmente empeñado en introducirle en nuestra tierra porque le considero buen género y hasta nacional para que no le falte requisito de recomendación.

1. Carrying the war into the enemy's country by claiming it to be less immoral than the *El Sí de las Niñas* of the « rígido moralista » Moratín.

2. « Don Alvaro dicen no tiene interés. Sobre esto es menester hacer distinciones, si quieren decir que no suspende su atención con una trama enmarañada, con una acción rápida y viva, claro está que no; ni la suspende ni aspira por su índole a semejante cosa. El interés a que aspira es de un carácter más elevado y más severo... Don Alvaro es una idea metafísica esplayada y desenvuelta por todo el drama; una idea y nada más. »

3. The facts stated are here admitted, and the defence is in each category that the drama aims at being true to life, which is frequently as episodic as the « prose » of ordinary conversation is incorrect.

tanto en contra como en pro han dejado descansar en paz al pobre Horacio tan traqueteado, tan manoseado, tan citado por los críticos de la añeja escuela cuando sin contrario florecía en el lleno de su vigor y robustez... Han conocido los verdaderos creyentes el espíritu de nuestro siglo, siglo incrédulo, investigador que a nada da fe sin examinarlo y que a todo dominio se resiste.

But the chief service of this article is to give us a straightforward and to all appearances an unbiassed account of the reception with which *Don Alvaro* met. Describing the play as a « composición que sorprendió al auditorio, poco acostumbrado a espectáculos de esta naturaleza », he says :

Los espectadores estaban llenos de extrañeza durante la representación del drama. Hubo quien, creyendo condenar la pieza, sólo condenó al género a que pertenece. Hubo quien la tachó de carecer de interés, no considerando que en ella no está el interés en la trama, sino en la realización del concepto poético de que es hija la composición. Hubo quien, con justicia, tachó algunas prolijidades que el autor ya ha empezado a corregir. Hubo también quien admiró lo bueno y se preparó a defenderlo más despacio. Al caer el telón no podemos ni queremos ocultar que fueron más los desaprobadores que los aprobantes ¹.

If this is a fair statement (and one can see no reason to suppose that it is either unfair or ill-informed) the eloquence of Pastor Diaz seems misplaced.

The critic, however, is by no means persuaded that this adverse judgment will be final. He continues thus :

En estos casos, ya se sabe que el público es juez, pero no juez tirano, y de su sentencia hay apelación y súplica, como en los demás tribunales. Ni tampoco ha habido fallo contrario, pues estaban los jueces inciertos y divididos. Nosotros esperamos que la causa sea bien examinada, y desde luego nos constituimos abogados

1. *Revista Española*, March 25 1835.

de la parte, resueltos a llevar la cosa adelante, y a no excusar cuanto pueda hacerse en favor de un cliente querido. Por consiguiente no damos la causa por fenecida y emplazamos al auditorio para otra audiencia.

In No. 13 of the *Artista*¹ a certain « C. A.² », writing, as was natural in so staunchly Romantic a journal, in defence of the play, gives us further sidelights on the controversy.

« When we announced to our readers the impending representation of this drama³ », begins the notice, « we had not the least doubt that it would meet with strong opposition from many writers, and we were equally sure that the public would resent the liberties which its author has taken in disobeying certain rules which are generally considered as axioms of good taste ». These premonitions were not unjustified.

La primera noche hubo, sí, algunas dudas, pudo notarse agitación; pero no llegó a estallar la tormenta que algunos provocaban; y el fallo que ha pronunciado en las cinco representaciones siguientes, ha sido enteramente favorable al autor.

If some felt bound to respect the author's distinguished position and rank, there were others only too ready to turn whatever they could into ridicule. On each occasion when the critic was present at the theatre the second swoon of D. Alvaro was greeted with derisive laughter, and this was only one of the places at which such laughter occurred.

The *Eco del Comercio* is quoted by « C. A. » as wondering that Rivas could demean himself « hasta el nivel de los que

1. Vol. I, 1835, pp. 153-6.

2. Whom, following M. Le Gentil, I take to be the Conde de Campo Alange. See Le Gentil, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-9.

3. This was in the preceding number but one, p. 132. The notice was very brief : « El próximo domingo se dará la primera representación de D. Alvaro, o la fuerza del Sino. » That was all.

abastecen los teatros de los arrabales de París, presentando en el nuestro una composición más monstruosa que todas las que hemos visto hasta ahora en la escena española ¹ ». If by *abastecedores* is meant men of Victor Hugo's stamp, retorts the critic, the insult to them is unforgivable; if some of the minor French playwrights are intended the charge is quite untrue. He then proceeds to rebut various other charges : the alleged inverosimilitude of the play, its contempt for the unities of time and place, the introduction of « prosaic » and even « trivial » characters, and the accusation of the *Eco* that the terrible is so exaggerated in the final act as to become ridiculous.

One final testimony may be quoted, as coming from an impartial critic whose wit made him acceptable to both Classicists and Romantics : Ramón de Mesonero Romanos ². Mesonero is himself an admirer of *Don Alvaro*, knew it before its production, and had no doubt but that it would meet with general applause. He is obliged to confess, however, that the result of its performance was disappointing. It was, he says, on the whole, well received, but the public did not appreciate its great qualities ³.

1. This is evidently the accusation which the *Revista Española* is rebutting in its reference to Don Alvaro's « family » (p. 77) Funes (*op. cit.*, pp. 71-2) also quotes part of this attack, and adds that the critic imputed any popularity which the play gained for itself to its author's « antecedentes literarios... y su jerarquía social ».

2. Cf. the effect which his reading of the satirical sketch *El Romanticismo y los Románticos* (1837) produced in the Liceo de Madrid. There was a moment at which conflict seemed likely, but his popularity carried the day and only laughter was heard.

3. *Memorias de un setentón*, Madrid, 1881, Vol. II, p. 146.

IV

1835-1859. — Rivas re-enters politics. — The publication of *Don Alvaro*. — Insurrection and flight. — Gibraltar. — Return to Spain. — Later plays. — The *Romances históricos*. — Rivas as Ambassador at Naples. — *Leyendas*. — First edition of collected works. — Rivas as Ambassador at Paris.

Here the sources of information for the *Don Alvaro* controversy end. There is no doubt, however, that as a result of it and of the reception of the *Moro Expósito* the Duque de Rivas was recognised on all hands as the greatest force in modern Spanish literature. Cueto, undoubtedly a partisan critic, but writing less than two months after the play's first appearance, says that the attempts of the Classicists to stifle Rivas' dangerous innovations at birth had already signally failed. « La naciente Europa se ha declarado partidaria del bando libertador del yugo clásico, y la juventud española ha corrido a participar de la gloria de sus banderas ¹. » Something like this seems indeed to have been the outcome of the dispute. On October 9 1834 the Duke had been made an *Académico honorario* ² — being elected *de número*

1. In *El Artista*, Vol. III, p. 108, *i. e.* in 1836. The article (pp. 106-8, 110-14) is however dated « Sevilla, May 15 1835 ». Cf. *Discurso, etc.*, p. 556.

2. His *Discurso de Recepción*, delivered on Oct. 29, is printed in Vol. V of the 1854-5 edition of his works, pp. 365-371.

on Feb. 25 1846; he was later to become for a short time the Academy's Director. When the Ateneo was created (or rather revived, for it had existed from 1820 to 1823) the Duque de Rivas was elected to its first committee, and on November 26 1835 he was unanimously chosen president¹. Among other honours, he received that of election to the Real Academia de la Historia and to the presidency of the Real Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando.

Before the year 1835 was out Rivas had published *Don Alvaro* with Tomás Jordán and dedicated the volume to Alcalá Galiano, not in the brief words prefaced to later editions, but in a short preface which has a human, no less than a biographical interest :

Al Señor Don Antonio Alcalá Galiano, etc., etc., etc.

Como memoria de otro tiempo menos feliz, pero más tranquilo, dedico a Vd. este drama, que vió nacer en las orillas de la Loira, cuando los recuerdos de las del Guadalquivir, de las costumbres de nuestra patria, y de los rancios cuentos y leyendas que nos adormecieron y nos desvelaron en la infancia, tenían para nosotros todo el mágico prestigio, que dan a tales cosas la proscripción y el destierro. En esta obra impresa reconocerá Vd. la misma que con tanta inteligencia y mejoras puso en francés, para que se representara en los teatros de París. No se verificó esto, como Vd. sabe, por las inesperadas circunstancias, que dieron fin a nuestra expatriación. Y ahora la presento en los de Madrid, con algunas variaciones esenciales y engalanada con varios trozos de poesía. El público decidirá pues, si el trabajo que me ocupó tan agradablemente en las horas amargas de pobreza y de insignificancia; si los lances que pensados, leídos y repetidos por los alrededores de Tours nos pusieron muchas veces de tan festivo humor, que nos hacían olvidar por un momento nuestras penas; si este drama en fin, que tantos elogios ha debido a Vd. valen algo despojados de las circunstancias, que nos los hacían a Vd. tan agradables, y a mí tan lisonjeros (*sic*).

1. See, e. g., Mesonero Romanos : *Memorias de un setentón*, Madrid, 1881, Vol. II, pp. 160 ff.

Sea, pues, cual sea el mérito de esta composición, sé que para Vd. siempre lo tendrá, por la parcial amistad con que me favorece, y por eso se la dedica con el más fino afecto su verdadero amigo

A. de SAAVEDRA ¹.

No one who reads this preface can fail to be struck by the humility of its tone. This, it is true, might be said of all Rivas' prefaces, but we should have expected in 'an intro-

1. This reminiscent preface may perhaps have been inspired by some verses which Alcalá Galiano addressed to Rivas from Valencia in July 1834, and which may be read in the former's *Memorias, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 552.

The following extract may be quoted :

Tú, sí, de cuyo labio sonoro,
Fácil mana, y suave
La corriente de verso numeroso,
Ya festiva, ya grave;

De agudo ingenio y viva fantasía
Ricamente dotado,
Delicia y gloria de la patria mía,
Que tu pluma ha ilustrado;

Tú, recordando los pasados días,
En que en hados diversos,
Conmigo los sucesos dividías,
Ya prósperos, ya adversos;

Y que juntos reímos y lloramos,
Y en medio de las penas,
Engañando a la suerte, disfrutamos,
Horas de placeres llenas;

Tú oirás mi cuita con afecto fino,
Y aún llorarás acaso
Sobre la tumba cierta a que camino
Hoy con rápido paso.

ductory note to a play which was to lead a « revolution » some sign of battle, or had it already won the immediate and triumphant success which some have claimed for it we should have looked for more self-confidence, — a consciousness, to say the least of it, that the play was not a failure. As it is the author is content to print lines which were clearly composed before the first performance of *Don Alvaro*. « Be its merit what it may » he says, and again « if it has any merit », as unconcerned as though it were one of the merry plays which he dashed off to please his friends in Sevilla.

If *Don Alvaro* can be said to have achieved fame, this was in no way sustained by a revival of Rivas' earlier play, the semi-political *Lanuza*, which was produced on March 17 1836 for the benefit of José Edo, the principal actor in the caste. The acting is described by a contemporary critic¹ as having been « bastante bien »; the house was full; the Infante Don Francisco graced the theatre with his presence; the play was received with great applause and it was repeated on the following night and on several subsequent occasions. But, as will be seen, *Lanuza* had few of the merits of *Don Alvaro*, and its excellent reception was partly due no doubt to the opportuneness of its somewhat topical subject, and partly a *succès d'estime*².

Meanwhile the Duke had become Vice President of the Upper House. The reaction against Martínez' successor Toreno had led to the formation of a ministry by the practical and democratic Mendizábal, whom Rivas had known in London

1. In *Revista Española*, 1836, Vol. I, p. 644. It is no doubt to a performance at this time that Cañete alludes when he speaks of the great sensation caused by the play in the period succeeding the restoration of 1834 (*Obras*, ed. 1854, Vol. I, p. xxviii).

2. Apart from the critique in the *Revista Española* I have found nothing more than a mere mention of the performances in any other periodical of the time which I have examined.

and Paris, and who had only arrived in Madrid from his English exile in September 1835. It was unfortunate that Mendizábal's important financial reforms won for him rather the personal opposition of Alcalá Galiano and Istúriz, and these rapidly put themselves at the head of an opposition to which Rivas, in spite of his earlier enthusiasm for Mendizábal, became attached. The Duke thus took an active part in the events which led to Mendizábal's retirement (May 15 1836).

Istúriz, who was the new minister, realising the importance of Rivas' support in the House of Peers, caused him to be named *Ministro de la Gobernación del Reino*¹. Pastor

1. It was at this point in Rivas' career that he met the importunate Borrow, who had endeavoured to persuade Mendizábal to permit the printing of the New Testament in Spain, and on his fall turned his attentions to Istúriz' ministry. Galiano, whose acquaintance he had made, introduced him to a « certain Duke of Rivas, Minister of the Interior » « in whose department he told me was vested the power either of giving or refusing the permission to print the book in question ». He wrongly describes the duke (« a very handsome young man ») as « about thirty », and adds : « He has published several works — tragedies, I believe — and enjoyed a certain kind of literary reputation. » Negotiations proceeded thus :

« He received me with the greatest affability; and having heard what I had to say, he replied with a most captivating bow, and a genuine Andalusian grimace : « Go to my secretary; go to my secretary — *El hará por usted el gusto.* »

The secretary, however, an Aragonese « whose manners were neither elegant nor affable », quoted the Council of Trent, and Borrow had an interview with the British minister. Armed with a letter from the minister, Borrow went to the Duke again. « He was ten times more kind and affable than before : he read the letter, smiled most sweetly, and then, as if seized with sudden enthusiasm, he extended his arms in a manner almost theatrical, exclaiming, *Al secretario, él hará por usted el gusto.* Away I hurried to the secretary, who received me with all the coolness of an icicle. »

Eventually the Duke too, is presented to us as the villain. « The

Diaz tells us that the Duke was both surprised and unwilling to receive an honour which he had never coveted and for which he felt unfitted. He even endeavoured, according to his chief biographer, to escape the distinction and the responsibility, and had to be convinced by Alcalá Galiano and the new Premier before he would accept it. On May 16, when he appeared with his colleagues in the Lower House, he was greeted with a hostile demonstration. « ¿Es posible? ¡Silbarme a mí! », he is declared to have exclaimed in his mortification to a colleague who was present. But he was to suffer greater indignities than these.

The government of Istúriz only lasted for three months¹; and Rivas pursued during its short duration the policy of his party — to end the Civil War and establish constitutional government under the infant queen and her mother, the Regent. He also drew up an education scheme which

Aragonese secretary... still harped upon the Council of Trent, and succeeded in baffling all my efforts. He appeared to have inculcated his principal with his ideas upon this subject, for the duke, when he beheld me at his levees, took no further notice of me than by a contemptuous glance; and once, when I stepped up for the purpose of addressing him, disappeared through a side door, and I never saw him again, for I was disgusted with the treatment which I had received, and forbore paying any more visits at the Casa de la Inquisición. Poor Galiano still proved himself my unshaken friend but candidly informed me that there was no hope of my succeeding in the above quarter. « The duke », said he, « says that your request cannot be granted; and the other day, when I myself mentioned it in the council, began to talk of the decision of Trent, and spoke of yourself as a plaguy, pestilent fellow; whereupon I answered him with some acrimony, and there ensued a bit of a funcion (*sic*) between us, at which Istúriz laughed heartily. »

1. To this period belongs Bretón de los Herreros' address in verse printed in Rivas' works (ed. 1894, Vol. I, appendix, pp. 161-3) but interesting only as a curiosity. Rivas had given Bretón a post as librarian in the Nacional on July 18 1836.

was afterwards annulled by the revolutionary party, and he directed, « with the greatest skill ¹ », the new elections to the Cortes which, as it chanced, were never to take effect. For the insurrections of August 1836 supervened, and the elected members did not sit.

These insurrections saw the Duque de Rivas again a refugee for a space of twenty-four days ² in the house of the popular British Ambassador the Hon. George Villiers, afterwards fourth Earl of Clarendon ³. Unwilling though he was to emigrate once more, he eventually decided that no other course was open to him, and after much difficulty — for the possible ways of escape were few — he crossed the Sierras of Avila, Bejar and Gata, gained the Portuguese frontier by way of Fuente-Gunialdo and arrived at Guarda. Rumour and the imprudence of a guide betrayed him to the civil Governor, who, however, treated him with respect and aided him to reach Lisbon. On arriving here after a fortnight's journey under difficult conditions he was received by the French minister, the Comte de Saint-Priest. Soon he learned that his property had been sequestered for his having left Spain without permission of the Government. With the idea of returning to his family, which was now at Sevilla, he left Lisbon after a stay of some three weeks, and with an English passport set sail in the *Manchester* for Gibraltar. After a delay caused by the detention of all boats off Cádiz, he arrived at his destination, and met the Go-

1. So Pastor Diaz (*Obras de Rivas*, ed. 1894, p. 76). « Dirigió con sumo tino aquellas elecciones, las más solemnes y más tranquilas de cuantos tuvieron lugar en España, y en que sin acusaciones de corrupción ni violencia se reunió lo más ilustrado y respetable de la nación llamada a discutir una nueva ley fundamental de la monarquía. »

2. According to Ochoa, twenty-two days.

3. To whom, perhaps mistakenly, the moderate party largely attributed intrigues which led to the revolt.

vernor, Sir Alexander Woodford ¹, who had been his friend eleven years before in Malta. He stayed in Gibraltar a year, writing a number of his *romances* ², and only returned to Spain on August 1 1837, six weeks after the Queen Regent had sworn fidelity to the new Constitution.

According to this Constitution, which was partially modelled on the English Reform Bill of 1832, the Senate was to be nominated by the Crown from lists of three elected members for each constituency. The Duque de Rivas was elected for Cádiz, and soon made his presence on the Senate felt by a notable speech in favour of the restoration to the dispossessed nuns of their property ³. During the events which preceded the Queen Regent's abdication, however, the Duke was taking no active part in politics, living in semi-retirement at Sevilla and devoting himself to his literary work instead ⁴.

« The biographer », says Rivas' brother-in-law Cueto, « may describe this period of Rivas' life as one of misfortune; in reality it was one of the happiest conceivable ». His picture of the life of the poet, who lived with his family and

1. Sir Alexander George Woodford (1782-1870) had fought with distinction in the Spanish wars from the Siege of Cádiz to their close. He was in command of the Infantry brigade at Malta from 1825 to 1827, was appointed lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar on Feb. 28 1835, and was Governor and Commander-in-Chief from 1836 to 1843.

2. According to Gustavo Becquer (*Museo Universal*, July 2 1865, Vol. IX, p. 210) he had been writing *romances* also during the weeks he spent in Portugal.

3. For his further political interests during this period see Pastor Diaz in *Obras*, ed. 1894, I, pp. 78-9.

4. To this period belongs the prose essay *Los Hércules*, written at Sevilla, 1838, and published in the 1854-5 edition of Rivas' works, Vol. V, pp. 328-336, and in the 1884 but not in the 1894 edition.

his brother-in-law's under the same roof, deserves quotation for its intimacy of detail :

¿Sabéis cuál era la desgracia a que nos condenaba nuestro alejamiento de los negocios públicos? La de vivir al amor del hogar, sin zozobra ni sinsabores, entregados asiduamente al embeleso y al cultivo de las letras y de las artes, y esto en un país donde el suelo está lleno de flores, el aire de aromas, el cielo de luz, la gente de gallardía y donaire, y la memoria de poéticos y gloriosos recuerdos! ¡Cuántas veces en las encantadas noches de la primavera de Andalucía, al borde de un estanque de frondoso jardín, embalsamado el ambiente con aquella plenitud de aromas con que sólo allí trascienden los jazmines y el azahar, pasábamos dulcísimas horas entretenidos en sabrosas pláticas y lecturas con nuestros amigos, entre los cuales de vez en cuando contábamos por dicha poetas esclarecidos ¹!...

El ilustre Zorrilla, también poeta épico y calderoniano a la manera del Duque de Rivas, aumentó alguna vez el hechizo de aquel jardín, leyendo con su entonación inimitable y fascinadora el cuento titulado *La Cabeza de plata*, y muchas otras producciones de su ingenio fecundo y peregrino ².

Zorrilla himself has left us a delightfully homely picture of this family circle, which he first visited during the Semana Santa of 1842. Looking back upon those days of nearly forty years before he is writing, the poet can still recall how the family gathered every night round a large table, the ladies with their work, the boys reading or sketching, Rivas himself now and again reciting one of his own *romances* or some legend which he had disinterred in his rambles about the city.

El duque leía sus versos con un entusiasmo, un tono y una gesticulación esencialmente suyos y completamente originales; y acompañaban su voz el murmullo del aire en las hojas y del agua en las

1. A footnote mentions Rodríguez Rubí and Campoamor as being among these.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 591-2.

fuentes del jardín, sobre el cual se abrían los dos balcones de aquella estancia. El cariñoso respecto y la cordial e infantil admiración de su numerosa familia para con el padre y el poeta, era la cualidad característica, el fondo típico de aquel cuadro de interior, en cuya atmósfera se respiraba la más sincera alegría y la más tranquila felicidad. Aquellas cabezas juveniles de las muchachas, en cuyos ojuelos retozones chispeaba la curiosidad reprimida y en cuyos labios retozaba la maliciosa sonrisa; las inteligentes fisonomías de los muchachos, Enrique reflexivo y Alvaro bullicioso; aquellos albums, grabados y caballetes abiertos siempre, o siempre cargados de algún trabajo no concluido; aquellos retratos de los hijos, pintados por el padre; aquel piano siempre abierto, y aquellos tres salones seguidos, en donde siempre había murmullo de música o de poesía, y cuyo silencio era el son del agua y los árboles del jardín, daban a aquella casa un carácter especial, único y típico, que me hizo calificarla de nido de ruiseñores ¹.

During these years too, Rivas had time to encourage the many young Sevillian writers who attempted to find an outlet for their gifts by founding literary reviews, most of which, it must be admitted, were very short-lived ². In some of these we may also read of his active interest in the Liceo. José Amador de los Ríos, for example, is the chronicler of *El Cisne*, and his entries give us a fair indication of Rivas' co-operation in the work of these young men ³.

1. *Recuerdos del tiempo viejo*, Barcelona, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 138-9. Cf. also verses by Francisco Pérez de Grandallano in *Revista de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes*, III, 638-40.

2. He was on the regular staff of *El Sevillano* (1837-1843), and contributed occasionally to several more.

3. On June 1 1838 Rivas reads his « fragments » *A la catedral de Sevilla* : « Al escuchar los acentos entusiastas del autor del *Moro Expósito* no pudimos menos de prorrumpir en repetidos aplausos. » Of the meeting of June 15 we read : « El Sr. Duque de Rivas (leyó) un cuento histórico titulado *el castillo de Montiel*, en cuatro romances, los que escuchamos con sumo gusto, y el silencio que reinaba entonces en el salón nos permitió admirar las bellezas de que están adornados. » On June 30, « El Sr. Duque de Rivas expuso dos cuadritos de cos-

In the year 1839 appeared a work entitled *Los Españoles pintados por ellos mismos* in which were two articles by Rivas : *El Hospedador de provincia* and *El Ventero*. These are sketches of local types and customs, written in Madrid in the year of their publication, and will be noticed hereafter. Of the three plays *Solaces de un prisionero*, *El Crisol de la Lealtad* and *La Morisca de Alajuar*¹, which belong to this period of Rivas' activity, the first, dated September 1840, was written for the Liceo artístico y literario de Madrid and soon became known all over Spain, being played in 1841 both in Madrid and in Sevilla². The remaining two, imitations of the older Spanish drama, were written about this time, but published only with the *Solaces* in 1834. *Tanto vales cuanto tienes*, on the other hand, was published in 1840, but seems to have made no great impression.

Rivas' *Romances históricos*, of which some had been written at home and others abroad, were published in Madrid and in Paris in 1841. The Madrid edition, besides containing all the eighteen poems which have since appeared in the collection, including those which had already been published, has an anonymous prologue of thirty pages; which, so far as is known, was written by Rivas himself. Without repeating what has been said, or anticipating later criticism, it may be said here that the object of this introduction is to defend the *romance octosílabo*, — a defence which would

tumbres africanas muy bien pintados y llenos de originalidad.» Also «entre las lindas composiciones que fueron leídas echamos de ver la fluidez y la arrogancia de los versos del autor de *D. Alvaro*». Unfortunately this meeting brought the session to an end, and when a new one began the *Cisne* was dead.

1. See, pp. 530 ff.

2. See, e. g., the *Revista Andaluza*, Vol. II, pp. 112-4. Cañete says in 1854 : «Ha sido también muy aplaudida en casi todos los teatros de la península.»

seem indeed, from the closing words of the prologue, to be the object of the entire collection¹. The book was uniformly well received. Apart from other merits it would have a universal appeal. For the earliest of the poems deal with the times of Pedro the Cruel, and the latest of almost contemporaneous events. Nor would the public of 1841 be deaf to the eloquence of a poet who had fought against France as a boy and been exiled for liberal activities, when the said poet took up his lyre to sing of Bailén and Castaños.

Until 1843 the Duke remained for the most part at Sevilla with his family. Besides painting four religious pictures for the choir of the Cathedral, he wrote in 1843 a comedy in three acts called *El Parador de Bailén*, which was played in Sevilla and published in September 1844, and *El Desengaño en un Sueño*, finished in the summer of 1842² but not published till two years later. The former drama, which is a kind of *sainete* or farce, was not well received, and its author himself did not think sufficiently well of it to include it in the 1854-5 edition, which he himself prepared³. The latter, however, next to *Don Alvaro*, has most commonly been regarded as Rivas' best play⁴; though some have rated

1. *Op. cit.*, p. xxxiv. « Con débiles fuerzas he intentado yo tan difícil e importante empresa, escribiendo esta colección de *Romances históricos*, que presento al público. Mis lectores ilustrados decidirán si he logrado mi intento. » And the « enterprise » he declares to be to « volverlo [el romance] a su primer objeto y a su primitivo vigor y enérgica sencillez ».

2. See Appendix II.

3. See, however, his son's estimate of it (Rivas, *Obras* ed. 1894, Vol. I, p. xi).

4. Though his son preferred *Arias Gonzalo* to it, and perhaps even to *Don Alvaro*, styling *Arias Gonzalo* « en nuestro concepto la mejor de las tragedias del Duque », etc. (*Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. I, pp. x-xi). He may not, however, have considered *Don Alvaro* a *tragedia*.

it very much lower, as will presently be seen. For a long time the play was not performed, owing to the difficulty of the protagonist's rôle ¹. The year in which it was written saw Rivas negotiating with D. Juan Lombía, Director of the Teatro de la Cruz, who, however, thought it impossible to stage. The celebrated tragedian Carlos Latorre, of the Teatro del Príncipe, who was also appealed to, declared that Lisardo's part was too much for his lungs! On December 10 1875, however, this was undertaken by Antonio Vico in the Teatro de Apolo, Madrid, through the efforts of Alfonso XII, who as a youth in exile had learned to appreciate Rivas' dramas ². The play was not unsuccessful, but its success fell short of the expectations of many, the simple truth being that the drama is unsuitable for acting ³.

The declaration of the queen's majority on November 8 1843 found the Duque de Rivas, for private reasons, in Madrid. In view of the uncertainty of the political situation he had deemed it his duty to remain at the Palace with other Grandees of Spain in order to be near the girl-queen's person. While in Madrid he was appointed to an

1. The first edition of *Don Alvaro* (1835) is followed (p. 119) by two notes which bear witness to the difficulties, actual or possible, in the way of the staging of Romantic drama :

Si no hubiese bastantes actores, puede uno mismo ejecutar dos o tres de los personajes subalternos que sólo figura en distintas jornadas.

Si por la mala disposición de nuestros escenarios no se pudiese cambiar a la vista la decoración de la segunda jornada, se echará momentáneamente un telón supletorio que represente una áspera montaña de noche.

2. The events leading up to the performance of the play are narrated at length in the *Notas póstumas* to the biography of the Duke in *Obras*, ed. 1894, I, pp. 147-9.

3. For an account of the performance see *Obras*, ed. 1894, I, pp. 149-50.

official post¹ and in the following elections he was once more returned to the Senate — this time for Córdoba.

In 1844 he was appointed Spanish Ambassador at Naples, — the kingdom of the Two Sicilies having acknowledged Queen Isabel, — and, making the journey by way of Malta, where he was able to see some of his old friends, he arrived there on March 4. His feelings at the beginning of this new though voluntary exile he expressed in a letter in verse to his brother-in-law Leopoldo de Cueto, Marqués de Valmar, from which the latter quoted in his Memorial Address and of which fragments are preserved in the latest edition of Rivas' works². Naples, he thought, was a

país abominable,
Y el peor que hay del Sur a los Triones.

El clima, caro hermano, es detestable;
Ni un solo día he visto el cielo puro,
Ni un momento de sol claro y estable.

Sopla continuamente el viento duro;
Llueve dos o tres veces cada día :
Si no te abrigas, toses de seguro.

A later poem, however, written in December, shows him in a happier frame of mind. The Neapolitan spring and summer, a deeper acquaintance with the Italians and their language, the society of many cultivated and cultured people, led him to recant what he had written :

Con tan buenos influjos, consiguiente
Era mudar de la opinión primera,
Sin tacha merecer de inconsecuente.

1. That of Decano del Ayuntamiento de Madrid. On the circumstances, see *Obras*, ed. 1894, I, pp. 94-5.

2. Vol II, pp. 295-9, *cf.* Cueto, *op. cit.*, p. 575. For anecdotal details of Rivas' life at Naples see also the essay of Juan Valera (who was on his staff there) pp. 170-1; 193-6.

He quickly formed for himself a literary and artistic circle : Blanch, Campagna, Spinelli, Carlo Troja, the Duca di Ventignano, Volpicella, together with the sculptor Angelini, and artists like Morani and Smarguiazzi¹. His palace became a well-known centre of culture², he wrote while at Naples some of the best of his lyric pieces (*El Sol poniente*, *Meditación*, *La Aparición de la Mergelina*, *Fantasia nocturna*, *Canto de la Vejez*) and he gave himself also to prose. Two Neapolitan essays (*Viaje al Vesubio* and *Viaje a las Ruinas de Pesto*, both dated 1844 and the second adding « 30 de mayo »), represent this period in the 1854-5 edition³; they are narratives of two actual excursions, and, as we shall see in a later chapter⁴, have all the appearance of being extracts from a diary worked up for publication. This is not to say, of course, that the sketches are devoid of merit. Rivas' chief prose work, however, is the *Historia de la sublevación de Nápoles, capitaneada por Masanielo* (1847), dedicated to the « Excelentísimo Señor Don Francisco

1. *Obras*, ed. 1894, II, pp. 298-9.

2. A short MS. biography of Rivas (not always accurate) in the Biblioteca Provincial, Córdoba, says of this period of Rivas' life :

« Su reputación llegó a extender por toda Italia. El *Moro Expósito* fué traducido al Italiano, y se hizo el libro de moda. En Milan se han traducido sus romances históricos, y el D. Alvaro, varias nuevas composiciones suyas se han publicado en los periódicos de aquellos países, y la revista mensual de Nápoles titulada el *Museo*, ha publicado una serie de interesantes artículos sobre sus dramas. Todas las corporaciones literarias de Italia le envían sus diplomas, entre ellas la Pontaniana de Ciencias y Artes, la de Fomento de Nápoles, de la de Siracusa y de la Palermitana de Sicilia de la Tiburina y de la de los Arcades de Roma, de la Florentina, de la de Luca, de la de Viterbo. El Rey de Nápoles apeló a los consejos del Duque de Rivas como político experimentado de estos tiempos. »

3. Vol. V, pp. 299-327.

4. See below, pp. 480-1.

Javier de Istúriz, Senador del Reino, etc., como testimonio de fina y constante amistad en prósperas y adversas fortunas ». This work must have occupied a great deal of the author's time during the early period of his residence in Naples, as we can tell from the short prologue in which he describes the methods which he has followed, and the manuscripts and other sources consulted. The correspondence which from August 1847 to June 1849 Rivas maintained with the Spanish Government was found among his papers, but it has not been published.

No doubt he always felt something of an exile in Naples, for all his forced wanderings had not reconciled him to absence from his native country. In spite of the charm which Naples came to have for him, continual references show how he could not refrain from comparing it with Sevilla¹, while even the *idioma gentile* of Italy could not compensate for the loss of his own language :

¡Ay, encantos! jamás habrá bastantes,
Ni circes, ni serenas
Que consuelen mis penas,
Donde no suena el habla de Cervantes².

In 1846 the Duke paid a short visit to Rome, being received by His Holiness Pius IX, and afterwards journeyed

1. « Hermosísimo país he recorrido », he writes from Naples (May 30 1844), « atravesado preciosas y cultas poblaciones, admirado magníficos puntos de vista, contemplando imponentes y venerables restos de la antigüedad más remota, disfrutado de un clima delicioso; pero los tres días que duró tan delicioso viaje :

Me iba siempre acordando en sombre vana
De la dulce Sevilla y de Triana.

(*Revista Española de ambos mundos*, Vol. I, p. 186.)

2. *A Don José Zorrilla* (Nápoles, 1844), *Obras*, ed. 1894, II. 223.

to Madrid to pay his homage to the Queen on the occasion of her marriage with her cousin D. Francisco de Asís (Oct. 10 1846). At the moment of his arrival the Istúriz ministry had just fallen, and we learn from Rivas' son that the Duke was offered the Presidency of the new Cabinet. He never seems, however, to have thought of it seriously, and after spending a short time with his family in Sevilla, returned to Naples, where he went through the terrible experiences of 1847-8 of which he gave vivid accounts in his despatches. Among his other papers the Duke left an account of a visit paid to the Pope when the events of 1848 forced the latter to leave his States for Gaeta, at which time Martínez de la Rosa was the Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See.

It was some time before the Duke (now decorated by the King with the Grand Cross of St. Ferdinand, the first order in the Kingdom) was able to return to his writing and painting, and hardly had he settled down to his former pleasant life when an unfortunate marriage between Princess Carolina and the Count of Montemolín, to which the Spanish Cabinet had been strongly opposed, caused his recall to Spain, on July 10 1850.

After staying for a few days in Rome with Martínez de la Rosa, and receiving the Grand Cross of the *Orden piava* from the Pope, Rivas returned to Madrid, and, refusing various posts in the government of Narváez, betook himself once more to writing. He started a series of weekly gatherings at his palace in the Plazuela Concepción Jerónima, which were attended by the most brilliant exponents of literature and art in the country. It was during this period, too, that Rivas wrote the two *leyendas* entitled *Maldonado y El Aniversario*, which were printed for the first time in the third of the collected volumes of 1854-5. On October 15 1852 he was elected, and on April 24 1853 admitted

to membership in the Real Academia de la Historia ¹, and it seemed as though he might be able to leave public duties and devote himself entirely to literature. He had never been fortunate as a politician, nor was he pre-eminently fitted for the profession. « Había nacido para poeta », said Gustavo Becquer, bluntly, in an obituary notice twelve years later, « como poeta pudo ser soldado, pero no hombre político ² ».

Soon after his return to Madrid, Rivas had published (1851) in Fernández de los Ríos' *Biblioteca universal* a collection of verses entitled *El Crepúsculo de la tarde* ³, containing a selection of his recent lyrics ⁴ and the verse *leyenda* of the « Miraculous lily » (*La Azucena milagrosa*), — written in Naples, 1847, — which latter was dedicated to Zorrilla in acknowledgment of Zorrilla's *Azucena silvestre*, dedicated to Rivas. The volume has fifty-one pages, of the format of *Las Novedades*; it is illustrated by engravings, and begins with a dedicatory letter in prose to Alcalá Galiano, dated from Naples, Jan. 12. 1849. Rivas describes the pieces collected in *El Crepúsculo* as « the last which I mean to

1. His *Discurso de Recepción* may be read in the collected editions of his works (1854-5, Vol. V, pp. 372-380 and 1884-5, Vol. II, pp. 513-4). It was also in 1858, published in a collection of speeches (See Bibliography).

2. *Museo Universal*, Vol. IX, p. 210, July 2 1865.

3. The collection was given away to all who during the last six months of 1851 had been subscribers to *Las Novedades*, a daily paper which was founded in 1851 as a supplement to the *Semanario Pintoresco* and the *Ilustración*, and at the end of twelve months was continued as a separate journal.

4. Together with six earlier poems, reprinted by request, viz : *A las estrellas* (1824); *A la Adelfa* (1820); *El faro de Malta* (1828); *El sueño del proscrito* (1824, misdated 1844); *Las Siemprevivas* (1820); *A mi hijo Gonzalo* (1832). The *Meditación* (1844) is also asterisked as belonging to an earlier collection.

publish, and, perhaps the last I shall write ». He reminds his old friend of the many vicissitudes they have been through together :

... los placeres de Córdoba, y los agitados días de Madrid, y las largas noches de Londres, y las tranquilas aunque melancólicas horas de París y de Tours, los terribles momentos de otra época posterior ...

and he is anxious to dedicate these last lyrics to a friend who has been of the best :

que lo ha sido y es muy verdadero, al través de tiempos borrascosísimos, en que muy pocas voluntades y muy pocos afectos han quedado en consonancia ¹.

According to Cañete ², there was published in the same year (1851) a second edition of the *Crepúsculo* (or of the *Azucena milagrosa* alone — it is not clear which) « en un lindo volumen de 138 páginas adornado con láminas dibujadas por Urrabieta ». The strangeness of two editions appearing in one year, the occurrence of Urrabieta's drawings in each edition, and the fact that we have been unable to find this « lindo volumen » in any library, would make us suspicious as to its existence, were it not for Cañete's general

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 1. A pirated edition (which I have not seen) appeared soon afterwards. Cañete (*op. cit.*, p. 92) says of it : « Apenas publicada esta obra, un poeta ramplón y callejero se la apropió desnaturalizándola y despojándola de sus primores. Hízola imprimir, acompañándola de los mismos grabados con que salió a luz la primera edición con el título de *La Guirnalda misteriosa* para mejor encubrir el hurto. Denunciado a los tribunales, recibió el merecido castigo. » Another account of the occurrence is given in a note to the edition of 1894, Vol. V, p. 320. Cf. Pastor Diaz' account in the same edition, Vol. I, pp. 100-1.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

trustworthiness as an authority, and the exactness of his reference to the pages. No doubt, then, this edition was a very small one, since it can no longer be traced.

In 1854-5 appeared an edition in five volumes of the Duke's collected works with the misleading title of *Obras completas*. It contained many errors, but has the merit of including only such works as the Duke at this date considered worthy of publication, arranged in the order in which he placed them¹. The most notable omissions are the tragedies of Rivas' early apprenticeship to the classical drama : *Ataulfo*, *Aliatar*, *Doña Blanca*, *El Duque de Aquitania*, *Malek-Adhel*, *Lanuza*, *Arias Gonzalo*, and the later comedy *El Parador de Bailén*². The omissions show more eloquently than any mere statement could do how close an ally was the Duke of the Romantic school, though it is difficult to see what was the criterion which omitted these plays yet included *Tanto vales cuanto tienes*. It was in this edition of Rivas' works that the three *leyendas* were first collected. The *Romances históricos* and most of the lyrics also appeared, while almost the whole of Rivas' known prose found a place.

Rivas' self-conferred freedom, from political cares was but short-lived. At the time of the revolt of July 17 1854 General Córdoba was entrusted with the formation of a cabinet, which, feeling incapable of accepting it, he persuaded the Duque de Rivas to take in his place. For some forty hours the Duke's history was that of his unhappy country³.

1. For a list of the contents of these volumes, see Bibliography, p. 565.

2. This list is given at the end of Volume IV, the explanation of their omission being simply : « El autor... no ha tenido a bien que formen parte de esta colección. »

3. It is interesting to read side by side with this narrative the opening paragraphs of Hartzenbusch's introduction to Vol. V. of Rivas' works (ed. 1854-5, pp. VII-VIII).

They were forty hours of bloodshed and revolution, mobs and barricades, and they were ended by the Queen's action of recalling Espartero. The people of Madrid were delirious with joy, and the Duke had to take refuge with his friends in the French Embassy, till the city was calm enough for him to return once more to retirement.

In October 1856 Narváez came into power again; and on July 20 1859, the Queen appointed Rivas Ambassador in Paris. His stay in the French capital must have afforded him great gratification. In less happy days he had contracted debts to France at a time immediately preceding his rise to literary fame. Now he returned there, a great figure in literature, and a great personality by reason of his social and political rank¹. He enjoyed the greatest favour at the French court — the more so on account of the Spanish sympathies of the Empress. He was intimate both with Emperor and Empress and with many noble French families. The Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys had translated his Neapolitan History some ten years before, and the French press welcomed him not only for his Romantic achievements but for such lesser works as this.

1. In the *Reseña biográfica* prefixed to the 1894 edition of the poet's works, is related the story of Rivas' visit to Ary Sheffer, the artist, who had befriended the Duke before his succession to the title thirty years earlier.

V

1860-1865. — Return to Spain. — Retirement and ill health. — Last honours. — Death. — Tributes of contemporaries. — Rivas the man : his personal charm; his tastes and talents; his patriotism.

On July 2 1860 Rivas resigned his charge and returned to Spain, with the Grande Croix de la Légion d'Honneur, conferred upon him by Napoleon III. Very soon after his return his health began to fail. His splendid constitution had survived all the onslaughts made upon it by the disturbed and troubled life which he had been compelled to lead at intervals since his boyhood. But old age, together with an incurable disease, was now coming upon him, and his son gives us a pathetic picture of the father, who for so long had mixed with life in every shape and form, declaiming the lines of his own *Canto de la Vejez* and unable to move without another's aid from the chair in which he would be lying. He no longer had the strength to write ¹. « Mano

1. In the *Romancero de la guerra de Africa* Rivas attempted to comply with the desire of the Marqués de Molins and contribute his share to a composite poem celebrating the exploits of Spain in Africa. He was, however, too ill to complete the rough sketch which he had made, and the *romance* which appears in his collected works (ed. 1894, Vol. II, pp. 329-340) is the joint work of the Marquis and himself. Rivas' son thus affectingly describes the state of his

que embarga el dolor, no puede manejar la pluma¹. » And, with a return of something of that genial humour which marked him throughout his life : « Las Musas huyen de las canas². »

The African war more than anything else made him conscious of his weakness :

¡Al herido!... Yo también
De Ocaña por los collados
Con el licor de mis venas
Regué los laureles patrios;
Y hoy en cárcel de dolores
Por la vejez amarrado,
Con mi lira solamente
El marcial grito acompaño,
Mientras que mi nietezuelo
Hace mi bastón caballo,
Y dice que va a la guerra
De moros y cristianos³!

father's health when he was endeavouring to write the poem : « Varias veces se puso a escribir el romance que había ofrecido; mas apenas la temblorosa mano trazaba algunos vigorosos versos, y su alma de poeta se iba inflamando, venía el dolor a entenebrece su espíritu, y acababa desesperado por arrojar la pluma. Hubiérase dicho que los ángeles y las furias se disputaban aquella infeliz existencia. » (*Obras*, ed. 1894, I, p. 136.) Of the finished poem a writer in *La Patria* (June 23 1865) said : « Es infinitamente superior a todos los demás romances que contiene aquel *Romancero*. Con franqueza lo decimos, es el único romance natural y popular que hay allí. »

1. From his reply to the speech of D. Cándido Nocedal at the latter's reception into the Academy (May 15 1860). The speech begins (*op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff) :

Afligido hace cinco meses por una penosísima enfermedad nerviosa, que últimamente se complicó, no sin peligro de mi vida, con otra de más cuidado y transcendencia...

2. *Epistolario de Fernán Caballero*, ed. Argüello, 1922, p. 118.

3. *Del Romancero de la Guerra de Africa*.

If only his health and strength could be restored to him by some miracle he would repeat the deeds of his boyhood :

¡ Ah ! ¿ Porqué la Omnipotencia
No hace conmigo el milagro
De que la nieve se funda
Que está en mi frente pesando ;
Y que se siente mi planta,
Y que se afirme mi brazo,
Como un tiempo memorable
Bajo el invicto Castaños.

On the death of Martínez de la Rosa, the Academy elected Rivas its Director in his place (February 20 1862) ¹ and in the next year he was appointed President of the *Consejo de Estado*. He was only able to hold this latter post for twelve months (November 2 1863 to November 20 1864). The gracious act of the Queen on his retirement of decorating him with the Collar of the Golden Fleece (*Collar del Toison de Oro*) was as it were the crown of his life. The ceremony took place on December 9 1864, when the Duke was too ill to be able to rise from his seat as the Queen stood before him. « Señora », he said, after the decoration was performed, « esto es como la cena que, deba dársele o no, se concede a los antojos del enfermo desahuciado, del hombre ya moribundo » ².

He passed seven months more in pain, and died at six o'clock on the evening of June 22 1865, rather more than two months later than his friend Alcalá Galiano, who had come some time before in the fullest vigour to see the Duke once more in his last illness ³.

1. *i. e.*, *Director interino*. He became *Director en propiedad* on Dec. 3 of the same year.

2. Pastor Diaz : *Obras* (ed. cit), Vol. III, p. 283.

3. Cueto describes the visit, *op. cit.*, pp. 595-6.

The funeral ceremonies, in the church of St. Thomas, though simple in the extreme, were attended by vast crowds anxious to pay a last tribute of respect to one who had been for many years the most truly representative writer in Spain. From St. Thomas' Church the Duke's remains were taken to the village of Rivas del Jarama, near Madrid, and there laid to rest in the church of the Convento de Mercenarios Descalzos, which was founded by his ancestors and became his property on the expulsion of its inhabitants. Only in 1914 was the body exhumed, and re-interred, as befitted so great a man of letters, in the cemetery of San Isidro in Madrid.

Both the Real Academia Española and the Real Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando held public gatherings at which eloquent tributes were paid to the Duke : at the former session Manuel Cañete read two of Rivas' poems — *Al Faro de Malta* and *A la Vejez*. These tributes may still be read : the first — that of Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, Rivas' brother-in-law — in the *Memorias de la Academia Española* (Año I, Tomo 2, páginas 498-601); the second, by José Amador de los Ríos in the *Discursos leídos en las recepciones y actos públicos celebrados por la Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando*¹.

1. The *Periódico ilustrado* (pp. 83-4, note 2) has also the following :

Para tributárselo cual lo merece, se ha reunido días atrás la mayoría de nuestros escritores, acordando redactar una carta que, firmada por todos, debe entregarse a la familia del ilustre finado, como testimonio de la parte que toman en su sentimiento. Después se organizará en el teatro del Príncipe una función conmemorativa y por último es posible que se imprima una corona poética o que se fabrique un busto que deberá colocarse en la Academia o en algún sitio análogo. Una comisión compuesta de los señores D. Patricio de la Escosura, D. Antonio Ferrer del Río, D. Adelardo Ayala, D. Eduardo Asquerino y D. Juan Bautista Alonso, se ha encargado de dar forma a este pensamiento y sabemos que trabaja activamente para conseguirlo.

The press-files of the year 1865 and later memoirs disclose a series of tributes which conclusively prove that Rivas had won the admiration and respect, as also the affection, of his countrymen. « Uno de los más fecundos, espontáneos y brillantes poetas de que puede y debe honrarse la nación española », is the eulogy of one ¹. « España inconsolable te suspira ² » writes another. Gustavo Becquer salutes him as the incarnation of the spirit of Spain, and compares him with Cervantes and Lope de Vega, soldier-poets like himself ³. Manuel del Palacio, then a rising young poet, speaks of him as

... El primer campeón de nuestra regeneración literaria; el hombre honrado que después de haber combatido por su patria con la espada, la había ennoblecido con la pluma ⁴...

Fernán Caballero had eulogised him as the outstanding figure in a country which had at the time but few great men : he is « our first and truest poet ⁵ ». Cánovas del Castillo describes him thus :

Soldado y poeta historiador y hombre de Estado; herido tal

1. *La Patria*, June 23 1865.

2. *Museo Universal*, Vol. IX, p. 231, July 16 1865, sonnet by L. García del Real.

3. « Poeta y soldado a la vez, como Cervantes, como Lope, como Ercilla y como tantos otros egregios varones, orgullo del Parnaso castellano, el duque de Rivas, cuya muerte deploramos hoy, mantuvo en la historia de nuestra literatura la gloriosa tradición de aquellos peregrinos ingenios españoles, verdadera encarnación de nuestro espíritu nacional, que así manejaban la pluma como la espada. » (*Museo Universal*, Vol. IX, p. 210, July 2 1865)

4. In *El Periódico ilustrado*, June 29 1865, No. 17 (sub. « Revista de la semana »).

5. *Epistolario de Fernán Caballero*, ed. Argüello, 1922, p. 201 (February 19 1862) : « Nuestro primer y más genuino poeta... Nadie puede admirar más que yo, esa noble, leal, poética y hermosa figura de nuestra moderna historia, tan llena de figuras abyectas y perversas; nadie ensalzarla como lo hago yo. »

día en un campo de batalla, y otro puesto a la cabeza del gobierno; ora proscrito bajo la monarquía absoluta, y ora de populares alteraciones amenazado, con todo eso acertó a escribir el Duque de Rivas obras quizá inmortales ¹.

Zorrilla writes more intimately of his friend and former patron :

La muerte nos quitó de delante aquel ídolo a quien adorábamos, gloria de España, cuyos versos hemos aplaudido no ha muchos meses en el teatro en su *Don Alvaro* ²...

But of all the tributes to Rivas' memory an anonymous one in the *Revista Hispano-Americana*, is perhaps the most vivid of all :

... Uno de los más fecundos, espontáneos y brillantes poetas de que puede y debe honrarse la nación española.

... Su vida ha sido novelesca, variada, llena de poesía y de aventuras.

Hasta que la enfermedad postró por completo al duque, conservó éste toda la viveza de su ingenio, toda la amenidad de su trato, todo el fuego sagrado de la inspiración y de la poesía.

El duque ha dejado en el Parnaso español un lugar vacío y harto difícil de llenar. Las musas deben estar de luto ³...

Those few lines are typical of the way in which Rivas had come to be regarded. His early years had been as adventurous and dramatic as the two great works with which he had respectively captivated and startled his country. And while over all his life was the halo of patriotism, it was also mellowed by the haze of time, and by the distance which separated young Angel de Saavedra from that highly res-

1. *Estudios literarios*, II, 115 (« De la libertad en las artes, Discurso leído ante la Real Academia Española, 1867 »).

2. *Recuerdos del tiempo viejo*, Barcelona, 1880, p. 140.

3. Vol. III, pp. 140-1, June 27 1865. It is apparently by the writer who contributed the longer biographical article in *La Patria* of June 23rd, or so certain passages common to both would suggest.

pected ambassador the Duque de Rivas. It was indeed impossible to fill so conspicuous a place as his.

To the personal impression which Rivas made upon his contemporaries the testimony which we have is full, unanimous and convincing. He was distinguished pre-eminently by an unusually genial, frank and sympathetic disposition, which won him friends on every hand, and made his house a favourite meeting-place for his acquaintances in whatever part of Europe he might chance to be — whether in Naples, Paris, Sevilla or Madrid. As early as 1811 these qualities made him popular in Cádiz : « sus heridas, su vivacidad, su carácter blando, y su trato jovial y ameno le granjearon el cariño de todos sus compañeros ' ». They recommended him to such an extent that, as we have seen, he won himself friends on all hands during his long exiles and at those crises when he found himself in danger in his own country. They stimulated and encouraged young authors like Valera and Zorrilla, the latter of whom could never express his affection with sufficient warmth ². They gained

1. Pastor Diaz in *Obras de Rivas*, ed. 1894, Vol. I, p. 35.

2. See pp. 89-90 above and *cf. Recuerdos del tiempo viejo*, Barcelona, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 130, 136, where Zorrilla describes his first visit to Rivas (April 1 1842).

« Y qué recuerdo tan fresco, tan juvenil, tan poético, es el de aquel viaje y el de la estancia en la casa y con la familia de aquel tan gran poeta y tan grande amigo como fué mío, aquel a quien yo llamaba mi ángel, a quien la posteridad llama duque de Rivas, y cuya memoria vive aún por la amistad en mi corazón... » (P. 130.)

« Fué aquel uno de los pocos días que en mi vida cuento como felices, y cuya dicha tuvo fin y colmo en mi nocturna presentación en casa del egregio poeta, del cariñoso amigo, del entretenidísimo conversador, y del nunca olvidado autor del *Moro Expósito* y del Don Alvaro.

« El recuerdo de la amistad de la casa y de la familia del duque de Rivas es una isla de arribada en el revuelto mar de mi existencia. » (P. 136.)

him the good-will of the Neapolitans, who at first had been somewhat *antipáticos* to him, so that, in his own words,

... Logré que dijeran muchas bellas :
¡Quanto è simpaticone questo Duca ¹!

And, combined with an eternal youthfulness which it is given to few men in their old age to preserve, they made him ever more popular as his years advanced ² :

Sencillo y sin arrogancia
Con su corazón sin hiel,
Le llamaban Angel, y él
Era ángel siempre en la infancia.

Porque llegó a envejecer
En una vida de niño
De poesía y cariño,
Sin dejar de niño ser ³.

More prosaic testimonies to this effect abound, and even the smaller and anonymous obituary notices which appeared in Spain insist no less upon his personal charm than upon his distinguished career as *literato* and statesman ⁴. One of

1. *Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. II, p. 298. Juan Valera, who was, as we know, an *attaché* at Naples, says of his master at this period : « Ya era viejo, cuando estuve yo con él de agregado en la Embajada de Nápoles, pero se diría que estaba dotado de perenne juventud; tan constante era su buen humor y tan festivo su carácter. El mismo se jactaba de ser más mozo que todos los Secretarios y Agregados. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 193.) Cf. Cueto, *op. cit.*, p. 593.

2. See Cueto, *op. cit.*, p. 593; Pastor Diaz, *Obras*, ed. cit., Vol. III, p. 282.

3. From verses by Zorrilla, quoted in Rivas, *Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. I, pp. 164-8.

4. *E. g.* « Todos cuantos conocían al duque sentirán además su muerte por la bondad y cariño con que los trataba, y echarán siempre de menos aquella conversación agradabilísima, aquel tesoro de chistes

them, for example, after enumerating the many honours held by the distinguished writer and statesman which would now be given to others, continues :

Lo que es más difícil llenar es el [puesto] que deja vacío el ilustre duque en el Parnaso español, y el que deja vacío igualmente en la alta sociedad de Madrid, cuyo encanto hacía con su agudo y desenfadado ingenio, su amable trato y su dichoso y excelente natural.

Nor is this all. For after a few lines the writer recalls once more Rivas' personal qualities :

Siendo, como era el duque, de muy gallarda presencia, (y) en extremo simpático...

And a third, even a fourth time he insists :

Todos cuantos conocíamos al duque sentimos además su muerte por la bondad y cariño con quien nos trataba ¹...

Un carácter y un espíritu verdaderamente originales, espontáneos y como Dios los hizo...

Such insistence, and on such unconventional qualities, speaks more eloquently than any eulogies of an official biographer ².

His tastes were perhaps somewhat unusual. Devoted both to literature and to painting, he not only had no taste for music but declaimed against it vigorously. Possibly the protests of his friends may have forced him into a semi-artificial attitude of hostility ³. More surprising still is a

y de discreciones, aquella invectiva infatigable con que contaba lances, historias y aventuras, y aquel prodigioso talento de narrador con que sabía referirlas embelesando a todos. » (*Revista Hispano-Americana*, Vol. III, p. 141, June 27 1865.)

1. See notes 4, p. 109 above.

2. *La Patria*, June 23 1865.

3. El duque de Rivas, que con tanta seguridad y deleite encontraba la cadencia armónica de la poesía, sentía con la música, en vez de

distaste for the charms of nature which seems to have gone beyond Alfred de Vigny's disdain. « How many times », says Cueto, « have I heard him pouring scorn and incredulity on the so-called happiness of country life.'! » We shall see that nature was never the primary inspiration of his lyric verse, though his fondness for sea- and sky-scapes and the place given to nature in the *Moro Expósito* would not suggest such an attitude as Cueto's speech discloses.

Of his patriotism his works speak as loudly as the events of his life. Condemned by fate to spend long years in unwilling exile, and by his genius to serve his country for many years more abroad, his thoughts were as constantly in Spain as were his affections. In the *Moro Expósito* he wrote, addressing the town of his birth :

Tú reinas en mi pecho, aunque mi mente,
De tus héroes en pos, hoy por distintas
Tierras se espacie y por remotos siglos,
Sus hazañas buscando esclarecidas ².

placer, cierta impresión molesta, que le hacía prorrumper en festivas y agudísimas paradojas. Inexorable en su antipatía, sustentaba donairoso y obstinadamente que los arrobamientos de la música no son más que un recreo convencional (Cueto, *op. cit.*, p. 522).

1. « La admiración de la naturaleza, esa conmoción interna que para ciertas almas es a la vez fuerza creadora y deleite purísimo, que hace que el espíritu descubra y sienta la mano divina en el aroma de una flor, en el rumor del mar o en el reflejo de una estrella, tampoco era para el Duque de Rivas manantial de inspiración sincera. ¿Por qué ocultarlo? La naturaleza, fuente inagotable de belleza, y por consiguiente, de poesía, no le causaba, en sus manifestaciones externas, el embeleso que hizo poetas a Rioja y a Fr. Luis de León. ¡Cuántas veces le oí hablar con incredulidad y con mofa de la *felicidad de la vida del campo*! El veía exclusivamente tosquedad en la llaneza, afectación vanidosa en el amor a la soledad, y aburrimiento en el sosiego de las selvas y de las praderas. »

Cueto, *op. cit.* (p. 521).

2. Romance VI, p. 222.

He might well have written so of Spain as of Córdoba at any period of his life.

Lastly, one who knew him as well as any not prejudiced by ties of blood writes thus of him at the conclusion of a long study :

Si bien, al discurrir aquí acerca de casi todas las (obras) que compuso escritor tan natural, espontáneo, franco y sincero, en quien más que en nadie era el estilo el hombre, me parece que este hombre sale retratado, todavía me pesa de que me falte espacio y habilidad de escritor, y además tiempo y reposo para dar en estas páginas la imagen del Duque de Rivas, tal como me le retraen a la memoria el cariño que le tuve y la gratitud que le debo, por amigo y por jefe : gratitud y cariño que estoy convencido de que no me ciegan ni me desfiguran dicha imagen al renovármela en la mente. El Duque era afabilísimo y bueno...

Yo, por mi parte, no recuerdo haber tratado a sujeto alguno que me entretuviese y embelesase más conversando; que guardase más cuentos, chascarrillos o sucedidos, en la memoria, o que los inventase; que los refiriese más a propósito y con más chiste; y que fuese inagotable y nuevo como él... El Duque tenía en grado superlativo, la facultad y el arte de lo que llaman los franceses *causerie* ¹.

Even had he not been a great public servant, in short, and a still greater figure in the field of letters, we might well write at the end of this chapter on Rivas' life, in Juan Valera's happy phrase

Una vida digna de ser vivida.

1. Juan Valera, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-4.

CHAPTER II

War, Peace and Exile¹.

I

Early Lyrics, 1806-1820. — Character of the *juvenilia*. — The verses appearing in the first edition of the poems only. — The two earliest pieces. — Succeeding lyrics : the inspirations of patriotism and love. — Signs of individuality in the early poems : subjectivity, light and colour, regionalism.

Many poets look somewhat scornfully upon their *juvenilia*; though few have the courage of their opinions sufficiently to omit these poems from their collected works. Rivas, as we have seen, omitted the majority of his earliest poems from the collected edition for which he was responsible, and though we are able, and think it well, to include these verses in our survey², the fact and its implication

1. From this point onwards all references to the 1894 edition of Rivas' works (vol. and page respectively) are given thus : I, 30, without further explanation. Stanzas and lines respectively are referred to thus : II, 30. If other editions of the works are referred to the fact is definitely stated.

2. The poems omitted being not particularly noteworthy, they are dealt with, not in a separate section, but in the present one. Pastor Diaz (Rivas : *Obras*, I, 44) marks them out for especial censure, reacting against Juan Valera's extravagant praise (See pp. 119-20,

must be borne in mind when we are studying his development. Many of the early verses were written under the most unenviable and difficult of conditions; all of them were influenced, to a greater or smaller extent, not only by the sixteenth century fashions and habits, but by the eighteenth, into which he was born. On the other hand, it is at least possible that when, in the fervour of his newly-found Romanticism, he declared that he would recall his early poems if he could and consign them to the flames¹, he was in the grip of reaction to a degree to be deplored². We shall examine, therefore, the whole *corpus* of the poems which Rivas produced, whether included in the 1854 or any later edition or no.

Little which is not of the eighteenth century will be found in the verses of Saavedra's extreme youth. But the two earliest poems which are printed (above the date 1806) in the collected edition of 1894 will repay a closer study than many of the later *juvenilia* deserve. Do those who think of Rivas' Romanticism as something born in Malta of Byron and Scott, sponsored by John Hookham Frere,

below). They are to him « una maceta más en el recortado jardín de la literatura imitativa y convencional; eran plantas de estufa sin calor propio, sin raíces en la tierra ». To us they seem neither better nor worse than most of the other poems written before 1823; they contain, like them, noteworthy parts and are of importance historically.

1. Cf. Publishers' preface to the Appendix to Book II of the *Moro Expósito* : « De estas apreciables dotes apenas se descubría uno que otro destello en los dos tomos de poesías, que en 1820 dió a la luz en Madrid, colección cuyos ejemplares quisiera reunir el autor (según varias veces nos lo ha repetido) para entregarlos a las llamas. » (pp. 208-9.)

2. So Cañete urges, when in 1854 he endeavours to excuse the statement in question, and explain the inclusion of certain *juvenilia* in the edition of 1854.

and educated in Paris, realise that the poet at the age of fifteen had written two poems which, for all their conventionality and immaturity, showed signs of the native spirit which had never wholly died in Spain and was soon to flicker and burst into triumphant life from what had seemed to be its ashes?

The first is a *romance*, the opening lines of which are a prophecy of the *Moro Expósito* :

En una yegua tordilla,
Que atrás deja un pensamiento,
Entra en Córdoba gallardo
Atarfe el noble guerrero...

We are carried back to the Middle Ages — this is Saavedra's first known piece of verse! — shewn a mediæval Saracen warrior, scourge of the Christians and glory of his people, made to picture a Moorish crowd welcoming the victor of Toledo, and given a glimpse in imagination of the jet-black eyes of Daraja — name full of enchantment to a southern race! Immature this first poem may be, but it is a notable indication of the bent and abilities of the young « classical » author¹.

The second poem is a pastoral, conventional enough in its nature and design, but with one single glimpse of the future in the wealth of light and colour which illumines its otherwise undistinguished dulness. Could anything be more tamely conventional than the

Luz de esta ribera,
Graciosa zagala,

1. Among the non-reprinted 1814 poems will be found another *romance* of Moorish inspiration but with less life than this one possesses (« Al tiempo que en el ocaso »...).

Más linda que el día,
 Más bella que el alba

with which it opens?

It is just in a few lines, themselves no more than suggestive of future beauty, that we seem to see a young writer's meaningless conventionalities struggling with a young painter's vivid, irresistible imagination, not gaining a complete victory indeed, yet emerging not entirely defeated :

La fresca mañana,
 De tu rostro copia
 Las tintas de grana
 Con que el cielo pinta,
 Con que el prado esmalta.
 Si el carro de Febo
 Las cimas nevadas
 Con su lumbre dora,
 Con sus rayos baña,
 De tu faz hermosa
 Las luces no iguala ¹.

The frigidity of most of the poems written before the emigration, however, needs no emphasis. Pastorals beginning

Hermosa zagala
 De Venus envidia ²...

or

Hermosísima zagala
 Cuyos ojuelos divinos
 Abrasan con dulce fuego
 El alma y el pecho mío ³...

speak for themselves. They are full of conventional compliments, unvarying epithets and references to Flora, Phoebus,

1. I, 187-8.

2. I, 193.

3. I, 195.

Pan, and other deities who had long ceased to be more than names. The ode on the Shortness of our Life, with its opening lines :

De flores odorantes coronada,
De Zéfiro en las alas vagarosas
Viene la rozagante primavera
De la gallarda Flora acompañada ¹

is perhaps most characteristic in its pompous reference to the country of the Guadalquivir, which contrasts remarkably with passages, both earlier and later in date, to be quoted hereafter :

Y el Betis orgulloso
Rompe altanero por su corva orilla,
Émulo de Neptuno proceloso,
Y soberbio se atreve
A las nobles almenas de Sevilla ².

And one of the most florid of these poems, *A las siempre-vivas*, which again is stamped by its opening lines ³, extols in the most commonplace of terms the « dueño idolatrado », and with its trite images and the truistic sententiousness

1. II, 9.

2. II, 10-11. Cf. a parallel passage in *Adelfa* (I, 356) :

Por verde prado y suelo delicioso,
Que Flora esmalta con matiz divino
Para unirse a Neptuno proceloso
En ancho Betis tuerce su camino.

3.

Salve, divinas flores,
Que ornáis la más gallarda y linda frente
Que el sol mira en su curso dilatado;
Salve, y gratas oíd vuestros loores,
Que hoy esparce mi labio al puro ambiente...

(II, 19.)

of its observations in all but the concluding strophe, marks what may fairly be called the lowest depths to which Angel de Saavedra was ever to descend.

In the main these early poems are written under the inspiration of patriotism or of love, and in this order it will be convenient to consider them.

The patriotic poems, all of which Saavedra included in his later editions, follow in the main the classical ode in construction. They abound in classical allusions, frequently quite alien to the spirit in which they were conceived, and their heavy oratorical style contrasts as strongly and unfavourably with the simplicity of the lines already cited

Con once heridas mortales...

as does the description of « Betis orgulloso » with the refrain « Id a Sevilla ¹ ». That Saavedra could have taken his pen one day in camp and celebrated the rising against the French in a poem beginning

¿ A dó se encumbra con altivo vuelo
El ronco son de mi inocente lira,
El blando mirto de que está adornada
Tornándose en laurel ²?...

1. I, 215-7 :

Entre verdes olivares...

See pp. 26-7, above.

2. I, 199. Cañete (*Obras*, ed. 1854, Vol. I, p. XIII) finds passages, such as the fifth stanza of *Napoleón Destronado* (1812), in which the poet's inspiration is religious, and contrasts them with the passages of classical inspiration in the patriotic poems greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. To me, I confess, the « religious » passages do not ring entirely true. Abraham, Pharaoh and Sennacherib are introduced instead of Mars and Venus, but I doubt if the Biblical references meant any more to Saavedra than the classical, and the stanza which Cañete cites hardly seems to justify his comment, irre-

is surely of itself proof enough that he was in the bonds of conventionality. Even though a few of these odes strike a personal chord, as thus

¿Quién podrá dignamente
Cantar tu heroico nombre, ¡oh, patria mía ¹!

and

Tuyo es el triunfo, España, patria mía,
Y de tus hijos el laurel sagrado ²...

the trumpeting of conventional eloquence effectually drown any note of more evident sincerity which might otherwise be heard. It is difficult to place the patriotic poems, as Cañete does, above the less pretentious of the *juvenilia* such as the *Romance morisco* of 1806 ³.

The poems of affection are as similar in their general characteristics to the patriotic poems as verses inspired by love and by patriotism respectively can be. Some of them even take the same pretentiousness of form, though the majority are *romances*, sonnets, *cantilenas*, *letrillas* or other artificial or semi-artificial productions which the times approved. It is strange to find Juan Valera praising these love poems — not individual lines or stanzas, as he might well have done, but the collection as a whole :

La vida y la verdad de ellos resplandecen, aunque la dama que los inspira se disface, ya en traje pastoril, ya en traje morisco... Además, en todas las composiciones que escribió a Olimpia, composiciones que son muchas y buenas, ni Olimpia es zagala ni se viste

proachable as that in itself may be : « Tan cierto es que no existe móvil de inspiración semejante a la exaltación de los sentimientos verdaderos. » (*Op. cit.*, p. XIV.)

1. I, 269.

2. I, 209-10.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. XIV. Valera (*op. cit.*, p. 95) also rates them somewhat more highly than they perhaps deserve.

de zagala, ni el poeta cita a Pan ni a Venus, ni a casi ninguno de esos otros dioses paganos que tanto horror infunden ahora. Todo lo que D. Angel de Saavedra escribió a Olimpia pudiera, pues, pasar por romántico, si no hubiera sido escrito en 1819 y 1820 ¹.

It would be difficult, in our judgment, to find a definition of *romántico* which could make the last sentence intelligible. For the rest, in one poem alone (the *A Olimpia* of II, 15-18) we meet Favonio, Febo, Prometeo, Terpandro, Iperión, Anfitrite, Apolo — surely a sufficiently imposing company, — and in almost all the « Olimpia » poems there is a constant succession of as trite epithets and as commonplace figures as one could anywhere find.

But if Saavedra up to 1814 had not thrown off the literary shackles of his age, there were undoubtedly signs, even in the earliest poems, that his individuality was struggling to express itself. As yet he had not come under Romantic influences, and it would have been strange had he epitomised in his *juvenilia* the tendencies which, unknown to him, were invading the literatures of other nations. That occasional notes of individuality, however, are heard in the verses of Saavedra the boy, and sound with increasing persistence until they are caught up in the Romantic chorus, is a theme which has not up to the present been worked out. There are the germs of the *Moro Expósito* in the first slender collection of *Poestas*, and even in those verses where conventionality is most in evidence.

First of these signs, if we set apart the incipient mediaevalism of the earliest *romance*, which, except for the second poem mentioned above ², does not develop further before 1820, is the note of personal experience. This note has been remarked upon in our first chapter, where the relation

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

2. See above, p. 115.

between the poet's experience and his love poems is discussed¹. Saavedra's early subjectivity sometimes takes the form of narrative (which in some of the verses we know to be veracious, though it may or may not be exactly a true reproduction of experience in others) and sometimes the form of observations upon life as it appears to the writer. These breathe something of the *desengaño* which was later to inspire Espronceda, and later still to reappear, though fleetingly, in Rivas' last poems. But it is the cry of experience, and not the vague complaints and questionings inspired by the *mal du siècle* which Saavedra utters in lines like these :

¡Oh terrible mujer!... ¿y qué se han hecho
Tus promesas, tus lágrimas traidoras?
¿Qué fuerza nuestros lazos ha deshecho?

Pasaron ¡ay! fugaces, voladoras,
De encanto, de placer y de alegrías
Las fortunadas apacibles horas.

Huyeron ¡ay! los venturosos días
En que anhelante, enardecida, loca,
Constancia sin igual me prometías.

* * *

¡Tirano amor!... ¡Ah ciego desvarío!...
¿Dó apagaré este ardor que me devora?...
¿Dónde huiré, dónde de tu ceño impío?

* * *

Huiré cual de los duros cazadores
Cierva infeliz a quien taladra el seno
Enherbolada flecha entre dolores,

1. See above, pp. 23 ff.

Que huye, y su daño aumenta, y el veneno
En las entrañas lleva, y de gemidos
En vano deja el bosque obscuro lleno.

Muerte, muerte y no más. Encrudecidos
Tal remedio los hados me presentan,
Y sus decretos se verán cumplidos .

More important than this, at the stage we have at present reached in the evolution of Saavedra's verse, is a characteristic one side of which has never yet been fully brought out, and which deserves by its frequency to be permanently associated with the poet's imagination. This is the constant employment of images of light, and the use made of colour by one who was painter as well as poet. It is conspicuous from the very beginning. Even the frigid rhetoric of the odes is relieved by the use made of light :

Del carro apolinar la viva lumbre
Envuelta en negro polvo se obscurece ².

Vuestro nombre al través de las edades,
Con luz inextinguible y sempiterna
Brillará, cual la estrella del estío
En medio de la niebla ³.

En el silencio obscuro
El Orión y Arturo
Ven combatir. La aurora
Ve combatir. La lumbre

1. I, 390-2 *passim*. The whole poem should be read. Other such poems in number might be cited, but the difficulty of distinguishing real from fictitious experiences lessens their significance as examples of subjectivity, while one passage serves for all as far as the sentiments expressed are concerned, so nearly are they alike.

2. I, 205.

3. I, 262.

Del sol desde que dora
De Pirineo la fragosa cumbre,
Hasta que hunde en el mar su carro ardiente,
Ve combatir a la española gente ¹.

The conventional eclogue *Adelfa* ², only 224 lines in length, contains no less than twenty-one phrases which may be called images of light, — most of them, no doubt, banal enough, but significant by their very number. One of the most pretentious of the odes to Olimpia opens with what may be termed a highly-coloured dawn, and continues :

En tu frente serena
Nace y cándida brilla
La dulce y pura luz de la mañana :
La nieve y la azucena
Esmaltan tu mejilla
Templando el fuego de la tiria grana ³.

1. I, 297.

2. I, 355 ff. Saavedra styles this eclogue « Imitación de Pedro de Espinosa » and presumably the reference is to the *Fábula de Genil*, from which he also drew (without the same acknowledgment) in *El Paso honroso*. The imitation, apart from metre and general style, is not very noticeable. We find for example (the references are to Espinosa's works edited by Sr. Rodríguez Marín, 1909 and to the 1894 ed. of Rivas, Vol. I) Espinosa's list of flowers (p. 26) paralleled by Saavedra's (p. 358); the mention of several other plants by each author (p. 26; pp. 357-8); the references to Neptune and other gods (*passim*); the palace of Betis (p. 28) which possibly suggested that in Saavedra (p. 359), etc., etc. But the important point to notice is that in the *Fábula de Genil*, which is by no means destitute of colour, there is only one single image of light — the purely conventional « ¡Lumbre de mis ojos! ».

3. II, 15. And throughout the piece there are streaks and flashes of light : « la celeste llama »; « la lumbre de la aurora »; « del sol la viva lumbre »; « del sol la lumbre pura »; « de Iperión la luz está ofuscando », these apart from phrases which might or might not convey images of light to individual readers.

A trite enough eclogue (early in date and not reprinted after 1814) gives conventional expression to the contrast between night and day which seems to have captivated the young poet's imagination ¹. The sonnet « ¡Oh amiga noche ²! »... is a picture of light and darkness, and the same effect is repeated in that elegy ³, written in 1819, which begins :

Noche terrible y tenebrosa, donde
La pura luz que encanta el alma mía,
De mis ojos tristísimos se esconde?

The sun's chariot descends :

Las pálidas estrellas resplandecen,
Resaltan los luceros relumbrosos
Y mis ojos con llanto se obscurecen...

Then once more comes the contrast with the burst of dawn :

Noche, noche terrible, tu corona
De altas estrellas hunde en Oceano,
Y contigo el horror que me aprisiona.
Y brille en el Oriente el soberano
Resplandor de Titán, y su luz pura
Rompa de mis sospechas el arcano...

So night succeeds day

Y la noche reacia enluta el cielo

and day chases night

Sí, ya el rosado Oriente se esclarece,
Y la primera luz del nuevo día
A mis cansados ojos resplandece.

1. See the lines « Pero cuán poco dura... » in the eclogue : « Por entre peñascosos arenales... ».

2. I, 239.

3. I, 333 ff.

Ostensibly the elegy tells of the poet's love for Olimpia ¹; in reality it is a study in darkness and light — crude, no doubt, but already showing signs of power soon to be fulfilled ². And the same productive year (1819) which saw the

1. Olimpia is a constant pretext for a return to the theme of light, though it find expression only in platitudinous metaphors :

Tus ojos siempre al luminar del día
Ofusquen, y tu frente a la mañana. (I, 353.)

Al ver de sus ojos
Los ardientes rayos,
Que vencen la lumbre
Del rey de los astros... (I, 376.)

Y déjenme gozar de mi señora
Los dulces ojos, la sonrisa amable,
Y el brillo de su faz encantadora. (I, 395.)

Su seno
De viva lumbre y de ternura lleno. (II, 21.)

¿Qué es ¡ay! la luz del sol, cuando a su lumbre
No gozo de tu vista encantadora?... (II, 24.)
etc., etc.

Quotations might be indefinitely multiplied.

2. For further contrasted light and darkness effects see : I, 195, ll. 13 ff.; I, 196, ll. 5-12; I, 233, ll. 5-8; I, 262, ll. 15-20; I, 272, ll. 19-23; I, 305, ll. 11-15; I, 334, ll. 10-15; I, 336, ll. 13-15, 22-4; I, 337, ll. 1-4; I, 384, ll. 1-3. The youthful love of antithesis, combined with the attraction of images of light, accounts for the large number

birth of that elegy, was responsible also for a *Lamento nocturno*, in which Saavedra gives full rein to his imagination¹.

Together with this feeling for light goes a fondness for moonlight scenes which is closely allied to it. The following passage seems characteristic of many which might be quoted at length. It is, on the one hand, full of epithets which, though not always commonplace, show no great individuality. On the other hand it is written with such undeniable force that the image as a whole is impressed upon the reader's mental vision, while the intense personality of the passion which pervades it (and indeed the whole poem) brings perhaps what is after all a conventional enough production in many respects nearer to a Romantic outburst than any preceding poem has come :

Cuando tornas, Olimpia, a esta ribera,
Bella como la luna refulgente,
Que en apacible y grata primavera,
Cándida ostenta la argentada frente,
Y lánguida y luciente
Desde su carro azul derrama brillo,
Al través de las nubes plateadas,
Del blando cefirillo
Con vagarosas plumas agitadas.
Te ví, y me estremecí; torné a mirarte,
Y el denso velo que mi amor cubriera,
Rasgóse de repente, y descubierto
Miré mi corazón, y en él patente

of examples. For other images of light — sometimes commonplace, sometimes not, — the reader may study I, 208, ll. 26-8; I, 222, ll. 19-24; I, 231, ll. 5-10; I, 242, ll. 26 ff.; I, 256; I, 286, ll. 19-21; I, 295, *passim*; I, 300, l. 5; I, 330, ll. 1-9; I, 331, ll. 15-16.

1. See I, 371. The sunrises and sunsets of the *Paso honroso* (e. g., Canto I, stanza 50; I, 63; I, 70; II, 1.; II, 51; III, 1) are also noteworthy, as is the opening, mentioned above, to the ode *A Olimpia*, Vol. II, pp. 15 ff.

La oculta causa de mi angustia fiera.
 Y reventando el escondido fuego,
 Tronó como un volcán, tu amor buscando,
 Y tu amor, y tu amor sólo anhelando ¹.

Hardly any critic has pointed out the influence of colour on Rivas in his maturity, and none has traced it back to its beginnings — to the point at which young Saavedra, copying the conventional colour-phrases of the eighteenth century, discovered that to him they meant something real, and that that something grew more important as time went on. The indispensable red and white — « roses and jasmine » — of the lady's face ²; the « parda nube » and « rojos celajes ³ » of the sky; « the purpling east ⁴ »; the « green meadow »; the « blue waves » or « white foam » of the sea ⁵; the conventional blue of the river or the river-god ⁶; the « labio purpurino ⁷ » or « rubor purpúreo ⁸ » of the

1. I, 330.

2. *E. g.*, p. 331, l. 4; p. 376, l. 25; p. 353, l. 5; Cf. *El Paso honroso*, II, 7; III, 29. (The references in this paragraph are all to Vol. I, 1894, unless marked Vol. II.)

3. *E. g.*, p. 200, ll. 4-8; p. 257, ll. 3-4; p. 275, ll. 5-8; p. 361, ll. 19-21.

4. *E. g.*, p. 222, ll. 20-1; p. 374, ll. 14-19. Vol. II, p. 16, ll. 1-2.

5. *E. g.*, p. 257, ll. 7-8. The attraction of sea-pictures for the poet, so patent to readers of the *Moro Expósito*, is not altogether the effect of life in exile. The indications point rather to its being the gift of the years spent in Cádiz. There is something more than commonplace imagery in seascapes like the opening of *A Amira* (p. 229); the romance « A esconder su lumbre pura »... (pp. 257 ff.); the third strophe of the ode to Olimpia (pp. 328-9). Best of all are the realistic *La Borrasca* (pp. 305-6) and the metaphorically conceived picture in II, 27-8. Cf. also, p. 369; p. 269, ll. 11-15; p. 314 and the striking subject, p. 191.

6. *E. g.*, p. 295, l. 28.

7. p. 325, l. 1. Cf. p. 347, l. 4; p. 385, l. 17.

8. p. 330, l. 28.

poet's lady, her snow-white hand, breast or shoulder ; the « green crests » of the groves ¹; the sapphire sky ²; the cold white dawn ³ — these are of frequent occurrence throughout the volumes under examination. There is perhaps little colour which is not commonplace in these volumes, but there is abundant evidence in the distinctive epithets of flowers ⁴, the gold and purple of Oriental decorations ⁵, the skyscapes, landscapes and seascapes, that this poet is at least a true colourist in embryo if nothing more.

We have also signs in these early poems of a sturdy and persistent regionalism. From the early pictures of the Guadalquivir rolling down to the Atlantic between olive-groves and luscious orchards ⁶ to the lines written eleven years later in Córdoba comparing the graceful rosebay (somewhat strangely) with the stately poplar

que en la orilla fortunada
Del gran Guadalquivir crece ⁷.

there are constant allusions to the poet's *tierra*, even where the appropriateness of them is not evident nor their expression perfect. The verses which were not reprinted from the 1814 edition are particularly noticeable for their frequent references to the Guadalquivir, which may or may not be an indication that they were written in Andalucía. More probably they were written, as the epistle from the banks of the Henares almost certainly was, at a time when distance

1 p. 345, l. 15.

2. p. 329, l. 1.

3. p. 336, l. 22.

4. *E.g.*, p. 362, ll. 8-11; p. 343, ll. 1-4; p. 358, ll. 4-11.

5. *E.g.*, p. 329, ll. 12 ff.

6. *Romance*, Vol. I, pp. 215-17.

7. II, 32.

lent enchantment to the poet's view. And hence the constant references to

las selvas que riega
El Betis espumoso...
... del Betis la alegría

... la corriente fría
Del Betis...

en los raudales
Do del Betis el Numen soberano
La esperaba en palacios de corales.

Y el cristalino Betis transtornado
Su curso retorcido,
Con el viento alterado
Turbado se mostró y embravecido.

¿Acaso viste
Crecer altivo el Betis insolente?

Del Betis las espumas cristalinas,
La lozana belleza de las flores,
Que esmaltan su ribera, etc. ¹.

Both of the eclogues, too, among this group of poems have their imaginative home in the country of the Guadalquivir ². Yet in the poems reprinted in later editions « Genil gracioso y manso ³ », the « Betis cristalino y sosegado ⁴ »,

1. All these quotations are from poems appearing in the 1814 edition only.

2. « Del Betis olivoso en la ribera
Se encuentra un verde y delicioso prado... »

And « En la fertil ribera
Del Betis olivoso,
Felice mi ganado apacentaba... »

3. I, 277.

4. I, 286.

and « imperial Sevilla ¹ » are hardly mentioned more often than the stately and fruitful Tagus, near which the poet had met many of his early experiences and adventures ². The *romance corto* in which the Tagus is apostrophised throughout, is one of the best and happiest examples of Saavedra's early regionalism ³.

The *romance* with the haunting refrain « Id, aguas puras ⁴ »... is also a conspicuous example of the simplicity of some few of Saavedra's early poems which is the more striking as it is contrasted with the pretentious patriotic odes. In this, as in the narrative « Con once heridas mortales ⁵ », and in the subjects, and sometimes the subject-treatment, of certain sonnets ⁶, there is no straining after effect, no refinement of vocabulary, no preoccupation with sonority of epithet or expression. The bombast which disfigured the worst verse of the eighteenth century gives place to the artlessness marking the best art of the Romantics. More common, nevertheless, are the conventional epithets (flourishing everywhere but most frequent of all in *Adelfa*) ⁷ the weak and easy antitheses of form and subject, the laboured rimes ⁸

1. I, 358.

2. Thus we have the « aurífero Tajo » (I, 224, and the identical line repeated in I, 336); « las riberas del Tajo » (I, 345); « De Tajo venturoso A los bosques amenos » (I, 368); « Apacible río, Venturoso Tajo » (I, 375); « las frondosas vegas De Tajo delicioso » (I, 383).

3. I, 375-6.

4. I, 216.

5. I, 211.

6. E. g., I, 191, 197

7 Whether mythological or otherwise : « el furor de Marte », « el ardor del encendido Febo », « el crudo amor », « sus tiranías » and « el insano rigor de sus crueldades », « sus ojos... que le abrasaron con su dulce fuego », « su tierno pecho », « el dulce amor », etc.

8. It would perhaps be going too far to say that Saavedra's regio-

and the monotonous rhetorical repetitions of the odes¹. This said, it is hardly necessary to insist further upon the characteristics of Saavedra's early style.

nalism developed more precociously than it would have done had *Betis* not rimed with *Tetis*, but the suggestion is not unmerited.

1. Cf., for example, I, 201, ll. 20 ff., I, 208, ll. 11 ff., I, 210, ll. 8 ff.; I, 213, ll. 1-4; I, 215, ll. 14-16; I, 301, ll. 20 ff., etc.

II

El Paso honroso. — Diverse opinions of critics. — Its place in the evolution of Saavedra's romanticism. — Sources. — Artistic defects. — Signs of promise.

Long before most of these verses had been composed, Saavedra had written, at Cádiz, his *Paso Honroso*, dedicated to « Lesbia » and had published it at the end of the volume of 1814. The poem has been variously estimated (or sometimes neglected) by the critics, those who speak of Saavedra's romanticism as a creation of Malta depreciating or ignoring it entirely. Blanco García, who takes something like this view, simply says of it : « Anuncia ya a trechos por la gallardía y el desembarazo de la narración, al poeta admirable de los *Romances históricos* ². » Piñeyro, on the same side, calls it « la obra imperfecta de un joven aprovechado, que dócilmente sigue el camino que sus primeros maestros le mostraran ³ ». Cueto refers to it in passing as « (escrito)

1. See p. 24 above. Juan Valera (*Obras Completas*, XXVII, 131) sees here an imitation of Ariosto. A more likely influence is that of Pedro de Espinosa, whom the poet imitates both in the *Paso honroso* and in *Adelfa*. (See Espinosa's works, ed. Rodríguez Marín, Sonnet to Lesbia, p. 17.)

2. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 131.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

en acompasadas octavas y sujeto a muchos de los preceptos y atildamientos convencionales de las *Poéticas*¹ », and thereafter leaves it entirely alone.

Valera, as is natural, thinks very much more highly of the *Paso Honroso*, placing it above both *Florinda* and the *leyendas* of the poet's later years, and as far as its spontaneity is concerned, preferring it even above *El Moro Expósito*. « En la primera producción épica del Duque », he continues, « hay más concisión y sobriedad que en otras narraciones tuyas... Hay también... menos artificio... La mayor censura que se puede hacer de *El Paso honroso* es que es un juguete; que el autor no se propuso en él probar nada, ni resolver ningún problema. Lo que es para mí, lejos de ser esto una censura, es un elogio ... *El Paso honroso* es un poema romántico² ». Cañete, who takes the sanest view of the question of the influence of Malta on Saavedra, — a view based on careful study of both earlier and later poems³, — realises that there was much that was of promise in *El Paso honroso* as well as much of the mediocre and conventional.

Se limita... a combinar unas cuantas descripciones de encuentros y reencuentros, llenas a veces de verdad, no tan variadas como fuera

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 523.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 127-9, *passim*. It is not so much the actual words which Valera uses which are exaggerated as the tone in which he speaks of the poem. He treats it with what some might term a ludicrous sense of its importance, and his digression on the taste of the times (pp. 128 ff.) will sound convincing to very few. Later (p. 130) he says it is equal to the best work of Ariosto, and concludes : « Está escrito con arte y con gusto más sobrio y delicado que otras composiciones posteriores del poeta. » (p. 133.)

3. He says (*Obras*, ed. 1854, Vol. I, p. XIX) : « La permanencia del Duque de Rivas en Malta fué importantísima para su ingenio, porque contribuye poderosamente a despertar en él los gérmenes que hasta entonces habían estado sofocados o adormecidos... »

de apetecer, escritas en octavas donde la más fácil y gallarda elocución suele verse deslustrada por la flojedad y el prosaísmo, así en la dicción como en los versos. Pero aunque el asunto del poema raya en insignificante de puro sencillo; aunque en él no falta el amanerado sueño, de rigor en esta clase de obras; aunque las visiones que la fantasía del poeta presenta a la de D. Suero no pasan de ser paráfrasis más o menos acertada de la bellísima *fábula del Genil* del antequerano Espinosa, no por eso desagrada su lectura, ni hubiera sido justo condenar al fuego la casta pintura del tímido amor del héroe, y de la esquivez, más aparente que real, de la hermosa por quien suspira ¹.

We have already seen that Pedro de Espinosa was among the authors studied and imitated by young Saavedra, and there seems no doubt that Don Suero's dream in the *Paso honroso* — an unnecessary digression from the standpoint of plot — derives in part from Espinosa's *Fábula de Genil*. We need not take into consideration the resemblances of metre and diction, the references to Phoebus and Mars, and the conventional descriptions of river scenery : these are to be found in both poems, but in much of the other work of the two writers as well. More significant is the apparent influence of certain passages in the narrative of the river god's love for the naiad Cínaris; these, however, do not suggest a closer dependence than that which Juan Valera allows ². The descriptions of the respective river palaces are similar, though not identical :

ESPINOSA

Columnas más hermosas que valientes
Sustentan el gran techo cristalino;

1. *Op. cit.*, p. xvi.

2. « El sueño de D. Suero, antes de empezar las justas, en un bosque a orillas del Orbigo, dicen que es imitación de la *Fábula del Genil*, de Pedro de Espinosa; pero la imitación, si la hay, es bastante libre, y no amengua el mérito de la obra de D. Angel. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 132.)

Las paredes son piedras transparentes,
Cuyo valor del Occidente vino;

Ve que son plata lisa los umbrales;
Claros diamantes las lucientas puertas,
Ricas de clavazones de corales
Y de pequeños nácares cubiertas.

SAAVEDRA

Subiendo por el aire los cristales
Eran ya capiteles refulgentes,
Y sobre las columnas con presura
Se tornan en soberbia arquitectura.

... Guarnecidos de corales
Los atrevidos arcos laterales.
Las puertas de marfil son fabricadas
Con estrellas de acero y con follajes,
Sobre robustos pernos sustentadas,
Y adornadas de perlas y balajes...

So, too, are the several entries of the nymphs, though Saavedra adds to Espinosa's description and improves it greatly'; the appearance of the river god :

1. Espinosa has simply this :

Vido entrando Genil un virgen coro
De bellas ninfas de desnudos pechos,
Sobre cristal cerniendo granos de oro
Con verdes cribos de esmeraldas hechos;
Vido, ricos de lustre y de tesoro,
Follajes de carámbano en los techos,
Que estaban por las puntas adornados
De racimos de aljófares helados.

Saavedra's long adaptation, beginning :

Y de ninfas un coro se aparece...

is in Canto 1, stanzas 54 ff.

ESPINOSA

El venerable viejo dios del río
 Aquí con santa majestad se asienta,
 Reclinado en dos urnas relucientes,
 Que son los caños de abundantes fuentes.

SAAVEDRA

En dos fulgentes urnas reclinada
 Del río la deidad majestuosa
 Se muestra en él de juncias coronada,
 Con apacible faz respetuosa.

of the

tritón que a servir a Betis vino ¹.

- Betis' prophecy, too, of the nuptial joy of Cínaris and Genil, may have suggested to Saavedra the prophecy of his own birth ². Beyond these, no passages indubitably showing the influence of Espinosa can be found.

To ourselves *El Paso honroso* is neither a *chef-d'œuvre* nor a worthless piece of doggerel, but rather the most interesting study imaginable in a young Romanticist's evolution. It is surprising to find that at twenty-one, and by the year 1812, Saavedra should have written anything showing so great an advance on his preceding work; on the other hand it was inevitable that the poem should be full of crudities, commonplaces and classical allusions of the most conventional type. Of course it is imperfect. One has only to think that, like all Saavedra's work which preceded it in date, it was written on active service, by a boy whose muse had had no chance of being kindled by the works of the foreign Romantics whose influence he was soon to

1. Espinosa. Cf. Saavedra, I, 57.

2. *Paso honroso*, I, 64-6.

undergo. But imperfect and immature as it was, it was indelibly stamped with the seal of future fame.

Saavedra's first long poem is a romance of chivalry. He takes us back to the fifteenth century and the court of Juan II of Castile, in order to introduce an ancestor of his own, Don Suero de Quiñones, a valiant knight who with nine stalwart companions does battle in the lists against all comers to satisfy the ardour of his disdainful lady Doña Luz. It would be tedious to recount circumstantially those of the encounters which Saavedra thinks it necessary to relate in detail. Their monotony is broken to some extent by the appearance of the lady who Una-like comes to seek a champion, and by the combat in which Don Suero is accidentally checked in his victorious course and gains an unexpected proof of his lady's favour. Eventually the valiant warrior vanquishes the last of his opponents and wins his lady's hand.

It has been implied, if not specifically stated, that in composing his poem Saavedra worked upon Juan de Pineda's *Libro del Passo honroso*¹, which would almost certainly be in the possession of his family. A detailed comparison of the two works leads us to the conclusion that Saavedra was but slightly indebted to Pineda, if at all. He follows the general lines of the narrative, departing from it where convenient and very rarely writing anything which could be possibly described as a quotation or even a striking remi-

1. Libro del passo honroso defendido por el Excelente Cauallero Suero de Quiñones. Copilado de un libro antiguo de mano por F. Juan de Pineda Religioso de la Orden de S. Francisco. Y dirigido a Don Manrique de Lara, Conde de Valencia, Virey y Capitan general de Cataluña. Con licencia, En Salamanca, En casa de Cornelio Bonardo. Año MDLXXXVIII.

This is the edition followed here, but the edition of 1783 (Imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, Madrid) is more accessible.

niscence¹. Thus it is by no means impossible that he may have used some other version of the story.

Some of the divergences which occur between Pineda and Saavedra are, it is true, those which any poet would make in the circumstances : for example, the shortening of the preliminaries of the joust, and the condensation (into a verbal address made by Don Suero to the King) of the twenty-two long conditions which Don Suero lays down for the tournament. Others again are undoubtedly the result of Saavedra's love of colour, his passion for Andalucía and his vivid imagination.

We should expect him to omit the measurements of the ground chosen for the tournament, and the prosaic details of its disposition, and it is quite in keeping with his art to substitute a picturesque description of the effect of the preparations upon the winged inhabitants of the forest and to dwell upon the beauty of the woodland scene. The greater prominence of Doña Luz in Saavedra's poem is

1. As an example of such few passages, we may cite the following :

Don Suero's request to the King :

Y al verme de este modo aprisionado,
Mi libertad por fin he concertado.

Hoy mi señora exige nuevamente
Por rescate del hierro que me enlaza,

* * *

Que mis hazañas y mi fama aumente,
A su vista rompiendo en ancha plaza,
Por espacio de treinta días enteros,
Lanzas con los más bravos caballeros.

Pineda has :

Agora pues, poderoso señor, en nombre del Apostol Sanctiago yo

easily explicable by what we have deduced from his early love-lyrics. There are, however, divergences undoubtedly hard to account for if Saavedra had Pineda's book at hand, for at this stage in his career he was (as we shall shortly see) by no means averse to copying passages very closely. Pineda's account of his hero when he appears in the lists is as follows :

Sueró de Quiñones salio en un cavallo fuerte con paramentos azules bordados de la devisa y fierro de su famosa empresa; y encima de cada devisa estaban bordadas unas letras que dezian, il faut deliberer; y el llevaba vestido un falsopeto de azeytuni vellud vellotado verde brocado, con una uça de brocado azeytuni vellud vellotado azul. Sus calças eran de grana Italianas, y una caperuça alta de grana, con espuelas de rodete Italianas, ricas doradas; en la mano una espada de armas desnuda dorada. Llevaba en el braço derecho cerca de los morzillos su empresa de oro ricamente obrada tan ancha como dos dedos, con letras azules al rededor... Y tenia tambien de oro unos bolloncillos redondos al derredor de la mesma empresa. Llevava su arnes de piernas y braçales con muy fermosa continencia.

It seems unlikely that Saavedra at his then immature stage of development, should have reproduced barely one of these details and should have substituted a description so colourless and so totally unlike Pineda's as this :

De un potro cordobés azabachado,
Con un lucero en la espaciosa frente,
Rige el freno de plata salpicado,
Que templa y doma su rigor ferviente.
Lleva terciada sobre el diestro lado
La poderosa lanza, y el fulgente
Peto, que el noble pecho le rodea,
Ofusca el brillo de la luz febea.

he concertado mi rescate, el qual es trezientas lanças rompidas por el hasta con fierros de Milan, de mi, e destos cavalleros que aqui son en estos arneses...

• Par Ligera adarga en el siniestro brazo
Con adornos de esmalte guarnecida,
Maneja con gentil desembarazo,
Sin que las riendas gobernar le impida :
Pendiente en medio de un gracioso lazo,
Por cuerpo de su empresa está esculpida
Una argolla de hierro, y un letrero
Que dice así : *Librarme de ella quiero,*

La vencedora fulminante espada,
Terror y espanto del altivo moro,
Al lado izquierdo ostenta colocada
En el rico tahalí bordado de oro.
Sobre el alto crestón de la celada,
Que es de piedras preciosas un tesoro,
De plumas blancas el penacho ondea,
Do Favonio se mece y se recrea ¹.

The simplest explanation of the relations between the two works would seem to be that Saavedra had read Pineda's chronicle — perhaps, we may well believe, very carefully and very often, as a boy — and that he wrote the poem without having it at hand, and either without reference to it at all or with a mere glance at it shortly before or after drafting *El Paso honroso*. This is rendered the more probable by the circumstances in which he must have written, and it would explain equally well the occasional reminiscences and the many and striking departures from Pineda's narrative.

The narrative has all the weariness of a chivalric romance and in that respect is only redeemed by its comparative brevity. The young artist has much to learn of plot-construction and descriptive art. Warrior after warrior enters; the nationality, the dress, the mount, the appearance of each is described in turn, and finally the heraldic device

I. II, 17-19.

which he bears ¹. A few colourless lines describe the combat, and behold! the lists are being cleared for the next combaters! This monotony extends to other parts of the narrative. Both the second and the third cantos open with a not dissimilar description of dawn, while Canto IV begins with a description of night.

The characterisation is formal, but this was Saavedra's first essay in that difficult art, which he was never, in fact, to master as fully as some writers less noteworthy in other respects. Only the last line of the stanza which best describes Don Suero conveys any suggestion of individuality to the reader, and this, though it might seem to forecast a Byronic hero, is probably nothing more in intention than the only possible culmination to so forbidding a catalogue of virtues as the hero reveals :

Dejóse ver don Suero de Quiñones,
Valiente, afable, ilustre caballero,
Conocido por ínclitas acciones,
Y por ser en las lides el primero;
De esclarecidos timbres y blasones,
Tan tierno amante como buen guerrero,
Y en su gallardo aspecto y compostura
Pareció más que humana su figura ².

The portrait of Doña Luz is as conventional as are the graces which adorn her person or the epithets of chivalric language bestowed upon her : she is the typical « disdainful lady », the « enemiga bella ³ » of her adorer. Her amazing beauty is only equalled by her amazing scorn. Of the com-

1. Cf. for example, Canto II, stanzas 30, 35, 40, 44, 45. Valera, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, p. 130), admires the skill of Saavedra's presentation of the warriors!

2. I, 8.

3. IV, 17.

batants, Abreo, the Portuguese knight, is the antithesis of Suero de Quiñones. He is the complete villain, and it will be seen later that Saavedra's maturer art scarcely modified the type :

Era de Portugal, de ánimo fiero,
De dura condición, feroz semblante,
Diestro en el manejar lanza y acero,
De proporción y miembros de gigante :
Turbulento, indomable y altanero,
Atrevido insolente, amenazante,
Despreciador de ajena valentía,
Y lleno de soberbia altanería ¹.

Most noticeable of all in the *Paso honroso*, however, is the abundance of intolerably commonplace classical allusions. Piñeyro ² stigmatises the opening invocation ³ — and rightly so — as « tan vulgar, tan trillada como débilmente escrita ». It would not be unjust to speak in the same tone of the whole mythological company. Mars, as god of war, is introduced into the narratives of the various combats with wearisome regularity ⁴. Phoebus Apollo, under one

1. III, 5.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

3. I, 2.

4. *E.g.*, I, 6, Diez armados guerreros entrar vieron,
Que Marte en majestad no les iguala.

II, 56, Ya, dejando de Marte los horrores,
Dulces placeres, plácidos amores.

I, 65, De esta preciosa unión, lustre de España,
Saldrá una descendencia esclarecida,
Terror del Agareno en la campaña
Y de Marte y de Temis protegida.

I, 66, Un descendiente de esta unión primera,
Que a Marte seguirá con pecho honroso.

or the other of those titles, is continually dragged in to represent the sun ¹, apart from his other occasional appearances ². Any valiant warrior, if he is not a « son of Mars » is spoken of as « like to Hercules ³ ». From the first appearance of Jove « el Tonante ⁴ », mythological characters — Saturn ⁵, Cupid ⁶, Neptune ⁷, Favonius ⁸, Themis, the « ciega Diosa ⁹ », and the like — assume an apparent collective importance which far eclipses that of a Christian hero like Pelayo,

Mantenedor de la cristiana lumbre ¹⁰

and the renowned Cid Campeador, referred to as Rui Diaz ¹¹, — to say nothing of those literary heroes whose memory is celebrated in the following stanza, — the fifteenth century

I. I, 35, Huyen los rayos del ardor Febeo. (Cf. II, 17.)

II, 3, Febo inmortal desde su carro ardiente,
De viva lumbre y majestad vestido,
Los puros resplandores de su frente
Derrama por el ámbito extendido...

II, 42, Y el carro Apolinar, de luz cercado,
Apareció en oriente esplendoroso.

IV, 47, Apolo declinaba disgustado
De ver ocioso al ínclito guerrero...

2. Where the context is quite different. *E. g.*, I, 66.

3. *E. g.*, III, 37.

4. I, 2.

5. I, 62.

6. II, 8.

7. III, 15.

8. II, 19.

9. I, 65; IV, 17.

10. II, 55.

11. *Ibid.*

Cordovan poet Juan de Mena and the famous and erudite Marqués de Villena, Enrique de Aragón ¹.

On the other hand there is much in the *Paso honroso* with which no foreseeing critic could have failed to be impressed. Side by side with the commonplaces we have noticed, there are indications — though faint ones — of an imagery based on the observation of nature and reality ², of that same fondness for moonlight scenes which has already been remarked upon ³, and above all of a growing desire to paint in colour. This last tendency, which becomes increasingly more pronounced in Saavedra's work, is manifested at this point in a somewhat inartistic fashion. The poet has not yet learned to combine narrative and description. Apart from the use of colour in fixed epithets, Saavedra finds an excellent outlet for this mode of self-expression in the almost oriental splendour of the Court and the heraldic designs and the dresses of the various combatants. The Kings at arms' white colts with their purple coverings are followed by musicians in purple with brightly-coloured plumes ⁴. Don Suero and his companions are presented in white and gold, contrasting with the jet-black of their steeds ⁵. Their opponents are no less conspicuous ⁶. Doña Leonor is a study in black and white ⁷, but her little page is dressed in yellow with scarlet plumes ⁸. The number of these examples might be still further increased, and their

1. II, 56.

2. Cf. the sea images in III, 15, and IV, 58, and note 5 p. 127 above. Less noticeably, also, I, 47, 50.

3. Cf. p. 126 above.

4. II, 14-15.

5. II, 19-20.

6. III, 4, 20; cf. II, 40.

7. III, 26.

8. III, 27.

variety, itself significant, is emphasised in more than one place which shows to what an extent Saavedra could use colour in single descriptive passages ¹.

Though the exigencies of the plot made a northern setting for the story imperative, the real atmosphere of the poem, like that of Saavedra's shorter verses, is Andalucian. There is none of the bitter contrast between south and north which we are later to find in the *Moro Expósito*, and as there can be small excuse for expatiation on Andalucian glories in a Castilian narrative the allusions are bound to be scanty and somewhat formal. We have the prophetic vision of Don Suero's descendant born in sight of the « Betis caudaloso ² », the warrior Don Bueso de Solís, and his horse from the « frondoso Betis ³ », Don Suero himself, whose steed had pastured on Betis' shore ⁴, and finally, the apostrophe with its personal note, which Rivas so often sounds in his verse :

También, oh docto esclarecido Mena,
Honor del Betis, de mi patria gloria,
Al son del arpa allí tu voz resuena
Cantando hazañas de la hispana historia ⁵...

Even into the unpromising context of a Castilian story Saavedra could introduce the glories of Andalucía.

1. The best will be found in II, 7, 8.

2. I, 66.

3. III, 66.

4. IV, 43.

5. II, 56.

III

Lyrics of Exile, 1823-1833. — Conflicting characteristics of these verses. — *El Desterrado* as a typical example. — The London poems. — The *Faro de Malta*. — The *Sombra del Trovador*.

An unprejudiced reader of Saavedra's lyric poetry would probably be nearer to despairing of it as it stood in 1820 than in 1809. The last odes written before the emigration were intolerably artificial, and it is hard to see why the poet ever preserved them as he looked down upon them from the pedestal of his later achievements. Their only interest is historical. But when the crisis of 1823 changed the course of Saavedra's life, and sent him as a proscrip into exile, one might expect that, even before the influences of foreign Romanticism had begun to work upon his art, the strong emotion under which he now wrote would bring out his individuality. For this had been strangely overlaid (up to that time) by convention, in a collection of poems the subjects of which were of a profoundly personal nature¹.

1. I leave out of consideration the poem *Super Flumina*, which is included, in fragmentary condition, in the second volume of the 1894 edition (pp. 37-9). A footnote explains that it was written on the *Francis Freeling* when Saavedra was bound for England, that the manuscript was lost, and the poem partially reconstructed from memory by Alcalá Galiano in Rivas' last years. It seems

The reader who expects this, however, is doomed to some disappointment. By no means all the verses written between 1823 and 1833 can be said to be an advance on the *Paso honroso*. It seems strange to reflect that Saavedra was writing the *Moro Expósito* in the same years as he was penning lines like these :

No sonará mi acento
En el nupcial festín ¡Ay! No me es dado
Del insigne Mirisco al dulce lado
Su citara pulsar encantadora
Y enriquecer el viento
Con altos versos y con voz sonora ¹.

Or these :

De tu madre en el seno
Duermes, dulce amor mío,
Cual perla del rocío
Duermes en el seno de la tierna flor;
De mil encantos lleno
Reluce en tu semblante,
Cual sol en el diamante,
De un alma nueva el celestial candor ².

Yet thus it was. And the verses of 1823 to 1833 as a whole show strangely conflicting characteristics. The personal note becomes more marked in them than before; melancholy not unnaturally pervades them; the signs of evident sincerity are more frequent; yet the individuality of Saa-

hardly fair or critical to consider lines which have suffered these vicissitudes as a *bona fide* production of a date some forty years before they received the form in which they are now read.

1. II, 77, July 1829. The Ossianic passage which brings the ode to a conclusion, however (p. 85), is worth noting.

2. II, 117. Paris, 1832. « A mi hijo Gonzalo, de edad de cinco meses. »

vedra's colouring fades ¹ and the flashes of light grow at times less numerous ². The classical metres begin slowly to yield to, or are varied with, octosyllabic quatrains; but the classical allusions and conventional phrases become only slightly — if at certain times markedly — less common. These may briefly but not unfairly be described as the chief characteristics of Saavedra's evolution as a lyric poet during the important decade which began with *El Desterrado* and finished with the composition, though not the appearance, of *Don Alvaro*.

El Desterrado (1824) itself, for example, « which some consider — says Blanco García — a prelude to the audacities of Romanticism ³ », is a long poem the form of which recalls the classical ode. The author speaks of Spain as « hermosa Hesperia »; of Cádiz as the temple of Pluto and Venus; of Titan, Flora, Tirtaeus, the Fates and Cupid; of the sun in his « carro de oro », night spreading her curtain, Spain's brow being crowned with laurel; and a score of other trite

1. In *El Desterrado*, for example, — the longest of these poems with the exception of *Florinda* — the only signs of colour, apart from commonplaces like the « black storm », « Flora's verdure » the sun's « golden car » and « white locks » are the comparison of Angelica to a crimson rose in the desert and a reference to grey sails and the red fields of Andalucia. It might not be fantastic to find a psychological reason for this unusual dulness of hue in the fact that the poem was written at sea and after the sun had set.

2. They abound, however, in *El Desterrado*, where at the most rigorous computation there are no less than fifteen clear images of light, not more than two or three of which would be termed conventional. The other poem written on board (*A las estrellas*) is even more remarkable : in thirty-six lines there are eight such clear images, of which four are completely developed little pictures, each occupying the length of a stanza.

3. *Op. cit.*, I, 133 : « Pudo escribir la *Despedida* (o por otro nombre *El Desterrado*), que algunos consideran como prelude de las audacias románticas. »

personifications remind us that Saavedra's art is still unformed. But every reader of this poem will remark its intense and personal patriotism, which reaches at times so high a degree of passion and sincerity as to make one forget the weaknesses of the production viewed as a whole. From beginning to end *El Desterrado* is informed by emotion. The lines which salute the Guadalquivir ¹ have no literary ornament ² to embellish them; they attract by their simplicity ³ as surely as the lines immediately preceding repel by their artificiality ⁴. The climax of the poem is so penetrating as to be painful :

¡Oh patria! ¡Ingrata patria!...
Para siempre tal vez, para siempre
Hoy te pierdo, ¡oh mi patria querida!
Y a arrastrar voy la mísera vida
En destierro espantoso y crüel.

And after one more of those characteristic interplays of images of light and darkness, he changes the theme :

No es ya mi patria, no... ¡Patria!... No existe
Donde sólo hay opresos y opresores.
¡España!... España fué...

1. Which almost for the first time is given its modern name, though it is referred to as « Betis claro » two lines above, and both names are used elsewhere in the poem.

2. For I take the expression « rey de Andalucía », in its context, to be spontaneous.

3. Yo te saludo,
Y yo te adoro ¡oh rey de Andalucía!
Tu vista templa mi destino crudo,
Tu vista embarga ¡ay Dios! el alma mía (II, 42.)

4. Los campos encantados,
Que de eterno verdor Flora entapiza,
Y por do Betis claro se desliza... (II, 42.)

When this second movement, with its eloquent anathemas and passionate declamations, gives place in turn to an interlude of calm, an outburst of contrition and the final semi-prophetic strain of restored confidence, the note of sincerity is continually sounding, even to the subdued and simple conclusion :

Llegue el suspirado día,
Mírete yo venturosa,
Libre, triunfante, gloriosa,
Y contento moriré.

The poem has in short the individuality, the patriotic feeling, and in places the simplicity, which were to mark Spanish Romanticism, but its characteristics are no more « audacities » than « atrocities ».

The verses written in London show an advance upon the *Desterrado*. *Cristóbal Colón* is a picture, in few but striking words, of the discoverer of America, which is entirely free from artifice and convention¹. Every phrase is like a strong, firm stroke of the brush; the most characteristic is one which betrays its author :

Y el sol un monte azul descubre y dora.
Es América...

1. The author himself seems to have thought well of the concluding lines, as he repeated them in the romance *Recuerdos de un gran hombre*, written in Gibraltar some thirteen years later.

En voz sonora
Exclaman cielo y tierra y mar profundo
¡Viva Colón, descubridor de un mundo! (1824.)

Y acordes repiten
Cielo, tierra y mar profundo :
¡Viva Colón, descubridor de un mundo! (1837.)

The *Sueño del Proscrito*, dated from London in the same year, has been characterised by Ochoa, in words already quoted ¹, as « Ossianic », and Blanco García, who repeats the phrase approvingly, adds that its irregularities and its revolutionary spirit mark a definite rupture with the canons of Boileau ². For Ochoa's adjective I can find no justification, while his dictum that the poem is « empapada en las nieblas húmedas del Támesis » seems to be founded entirely on the final quatrain :

Las nieblas horribas
Del frío Támesis
Con pecho mísero
Respiraré.

The poem as a whole, apart from its comparative simplicity, its use of the short line and its three-movement form, is somewhat undistinguished in character. Its central figure, the « Angélica » who is « bathing her pale face in bitter tears » for the exile, and who of old sang « hymns of glory and love » while the poet proudly struck the chords of his lyre, is a lifeless abstraction to the reader of to-day. The reference to the

Encantadas riberas de Betis,
Sacros bosques de adelfas y rosas,
Apacibles colinas graciosas...

has none of the vividness which we find in similar and later references. The opening strophe is excessively rhetorical, and loosely put together at that, though this fault is largely

1. See p. 50 above.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 133, « Manifiesta una ruptura decisiva con los severos canones de Boileau y está llena de espíritu innovador y revolucionario. Con ser bastante descuidada e irregular, bien merece que traslademos aquí alguna muestra para dar solidez a estas afirmaciones. » (He then quotes the first nineteen lines.)

redeemed by the lines in octaves and quatrains which follow ¹.

The next poem of any length is the well-known *Faro de Malta*, written in unrimed stanzas, and introducing the *motif* of light in a central and emphatic position. It is by far the finest production of Saavedra's genius before he began the *Moro Expósito*. Valera indeed thinks it, with *A las estrellas*, Rivas' best lyric poem ². Once again the commonplace and the artificial are all but absent. The pen-pictures are firmly and clearly outlined ³; the rhetorical figures are vivid and appealing; and the narrative is striking in its sincerity and individuality. Perhaps the most admirable trait of all in the poem is its unexpected conclusion :

Jamás te olvidaré, jamás... Tan sólo
Trocara tu esplendor, sin olvidarlo,
Rey de la noche, y de tu excelsa lumbre
La benéfica llama,

Por la llama y los fúlgidos destellos
Que lanza, reflejando al sol naciente,
El Arcángel dorado que corona
De Córdoba la torre ⁴.

The contrast between this poem and the nuptial ode which follows it ⁵ is painful. Inversions, periphrases, apos-

1. See Blanco García, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

2. Piñeyro (*op. cit.*, pp. 59-60) thinks rather poorly of it. For Valera, see *op. cit.*, p. 113. Menéndez Pelayo (*Horacio en España*, 2nd, ed., II, 202) calls both poems « purely Horatian ». He is, however, searching for illustrations of his statement that the greatest Romantics came from the classical camp!

3. The first four stanzas furnish an excellent illustration of this.

4. II, 71.

5. *A los excelentísimos Señores Marqueses de Santa Cruz, en la boda de su hija tercera Doña Fernanda de Silva y Girón* (Malta, Julio de 1829), II, 77-8.

trophes, and *clichés* abound, and the torrent of verse rushes relentlessly along, broken only once by quatrains, though varying more than once in its exact metrical construction. Its quality can best be shown by choice passages picked out from their context. Thus :

¡Oh! Si el poder del numen que me inspira,
Y de amistad el fuego sacrosanto
Que arde en mi pecho, a mi olvidada lira
Dieran tal vuelo y a mi rudo canto,
Que sus ecos llegaran
A la orilla del regio Manzanares...
¡Cuál mis fervientes votos resonaran
Unidos de Mirisco a los cantares!

But there is nevertheless in this poem one indication of the nature of Saavedra's reading — the concluding reference to Ossian :

Así hendiendo la niebla circundaban
Al bardo caledón las sombras leves
De los guerreros de Morvén y Tura,
Cuando en la noche obscura,
Despreciando los vientos y las nieves,
Sobre los riscos de Loclín sentado,
Pulsaba el arpa al lado de Malvina,
Y la voz ronca del torrente hinchado
Sobrepujaba con su voz divina ¹.

The long *Sombra del Trovador*, dated « Marsella, Marzo de 1830 » unites with a certain pretentiousness of form, and occasionally of language, signs of Romantic inspiration which are now unmistakeable. Nearly half the poem — the Troubadour's song — is written in octosyllabic quatrains, and its

1. « Este es, sin duda, el más marcado rastro de poesía inglesa que hay en todos los versos del Duque », says Juan Valera (*op. cit.*, p. 117). He has overlooked many other indications of much greater importance, as will shortly appear.

personal aspect is as marked as ever, even though less intimately connected with the subject than in some of the preceding compositions. But more significant than these traits are the choice of Provence and the Middle Ages as place and time into which the poet was projected, the appearance before his eyes of « venerables sombras de los siglos pasados », the allusion to Cervantes as an

escritor divino,
Gloria de España, admiración del mundo,

to the *gay saber* of Cataluña and the *juegos floreales* of Toulouse.

Romantic also are the suggestions of mystery and even terror, the more impressive by their contrast with the ever-recurring images of light.

La niebla pavorosa blanquecina

* * *

Mil sucesos pasados
Y mil vagas escenas
Cruzaron por mi ardiente fantasía,
Cual huyendo de vientos desatados,
De inciertas formas pavorosas llenas,
Cruzan las nubes en revuelto día ¹.

* * *

De la luna en confusos reverberos
Los antiguos ropajes ostentaban
Las aéreas formas de sus bultos vanos ².

1. II, 91.

2. II, 92.

Y un confuso alarido
De aflicción y lamento,
Que sumiso en el coro resonaba,
Toda mi sangre de pavor helaba ¹.

Romantic, finally, is the strain of melancholy which runs through the poem — not now merely the personal sadness of the exile, as in his earlier compositions, but an objective « doloroso acento » which is heard in the troubadour's song as well as in the rest of the poem.

The remaining verses of this period, without reaching the poetic heights of those cited, return comparatively seldom and for but short intervals to the paths of conventionality. Images of light are fewer but finer than in the earliest poems : Saavedra is learning the effectiveness of restraint, as a masterly strophe in the *Desterrado* shows ². Colour, again, becomes more noticeable : it is significant, for example, that when the poet, recalling apparently the disdainful lady of his youth, describes the results of unrequited love

— Amar ¡ay! sin ser amado
Es horrible maldición —

he visualises as a « negro velo » the hapless lover's insensitiveness to all around him, and the first result of his distress is to destroy in him the sense of colour :

¡Infeliz! No arde a sus ojos
El sol, ni apacible ambiente
Su pecho aspira latiente,
Ni ve los celajes rojos

1. II, 92.

2. II, p. 46. The 'light and darkness' passage, which begins :

« Lóbrego manto
De noche atroz... »

Que borda el alba en oriente.
Ni admira el oro y la grana
Del ocaso, cuando arde
En los fuegos de la tarde ¹.

Of metres we find a remarkable variety; the five poems following the *Sombra del Trovador* and bearing dates from 1830 to 1832 are written each in an entirely different metre ², while those of the next decade have more variety still.

1. II, pp. 107-8.

2. II, 101-120, *El Canto del ruiseñor, Versos escritos en un album, Un gran tormento, Un padre, A mi hijo Gonzalo.*

IV

The plays of 1820 : The merits of *Aliatar*. — *El Duque de Aquitania* and Alfieri's *Oreste* ; *Malék-Adhél*, and Mme Cottin's *Mathilde*. — Superiority of the latter play over the former. Defects of both and of Saavedra's early conceptions of drama.

The loss of two of the first three plays which Saavedra is known to have written — *Ataulfo* and *Doña Blanca* — make it impossible for us to trace his evolution as a dramatist from his earliest productions. We can, however, make a brief estimate of *Aliatar*, and this will suffice to show the immaturity of his dramatic talent at the age of twenty-four, and the superiority of his gifts for lyric and narrative poetry. A very few lines will show the crudity of the plot and of Rivas' treatment of it. *Aliatar*, a Moorish chieftain, has captured a Christian maiden named Elvira, with whom another of his prisoners, — a Hebrew noble, Ismán — is secretly in love. Ismán conveys a message for Elvira to Sevilla, to a certain Don García, whom she calls her brother, but discovers on his arrival to be in reality her lover. Don García plots with her to surprise the castle where she is immured, thus both winning a wife and gaining a victory for the Christians. But meanwhile *Aliatar*, who also is in love with Elvira, though she has rejected his attentions, has decided to obey his nobler nature and set her free. At this moment, however, Ismán reveals to him the conspi-

racy which a confidant has overheard discussed. His fury knows no bounds; he murders Elvira, and then ends his own life, just as Don García, who has carried out the plan of seizing the castle, arrives on the scene to find his lady dead.

It is easy to form an idea of the number of coincidences and improbabilities which have to be postulated before such a plot works itself out to the catastrophe described. A study of the play increases, rather than diminishes, their number. The grouping of lovers, too, around the person of the unhappy heroine is no more artistic than natural. Yet the preceptist's canon of verisimilitude — the observance of the Unities — is treated with due respect, and Saavedra's old master, to whom the play was inscribed¹, can hardly have found much fault with its « correctness ». Its versification he would also probably have approved, for though there is not, to our thinking, a truly lofty or poetic line in the whole play, there is nothing which falls below a certain mediocre and undistinguished level.

We now reach the main subject of this section, viz, the two dramas published in the edition of 1820-1 : *El Duque de Aquitania*, written in 1817, and *Malék-Adhél*, which dates from the following year. Both these tragedies had been performed, as we have seen, before publication.

In the *Duque de Aquitania*, Saavedra sets out, in his own words, to depict virtue and vengeance². His play is to be a « moral fiction³ », and he announces boldly, not only that

1. See p. 32 above.

2. Dedicatory verses (*ed. cit.*, p. 98)

Pinta el furor de las pasiones,
La austeridad de la virtud sublime,
Y la venganza atroz de los delitos.

3. Oyeme, hermana, y favorable acoge
Esta moral ficción que la engañosa
Escena va a ocupar... (*Ibid.*, p. 98).

he has imitated the work of a greater genius, but even that he has adapted for his purpose the story of Orestes.

La atroz venganza del inachio Órestes,
Que allá en remotos siglos vió extasiado
De Atenas el magnífico liceo,
Y en nuestros días con mayores glorias
Resucitó el ingenio honor de Italia,
Mi guía ha sido en tan audaz empresa ¹.

These words in themselves leave it uncertain to what extent it was the story, and to what extent any particular author, that inspired Saavedra, and equally so whether Euripides or Alfieri (who are obviously the dramatists referred to) was the author followed. The external probabilities are strongly in favour of Alfieri ², partly because whatever Saavedra's proficiency in Greek may have been, he would have been more likely to go to a modern author than to an ancient one, and partly because Alfieri was at that time exceedingly popular in Spain. In fact *Oreste* itself had been played in Madrid but a few years before the *Duque de Aquitania* was written, and an edition in Spanish was published in 1815 ³.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-9.

2. I do not stay to discuss the question at length, because it is quite clear on internal grounds alone that Saavedra's debt is rather to Alfieri than to Euripides. In Euripides' *Electra* (for his *Orestes* continues the narrative at a point later than the conclusion of Alfieri's *Oreste*), we have not only the greater part of the story of Alfieri's play, but also the giving of Electra in marriage to the peasant and the following events. Again, as will later be seen, Saavedra follows Alfieri very closely in certain scenes (such as the first appearance of Orestes and Pylades) which in Euripides have hardly any importance; and finally the spirit of Saavedra's play, as of Alfieri's, is wholly modern, and quite unlike that of Euripides'.

Alfieri's *Oreste* is even more unlike the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus and the *Electra* of Sophocles than the *Electra* of Euripides.

3. Orestes : || Tragedia || en cinco actos, || representada por la

I have examined in detail this edition, which is in fact a somewhat free translation, and though I have found no passages in which Saavedra obviously follows the translator and leaves the original version, there are also no examples of the contrary proceeding, and one minor parallel from the dedication may serve to throw the balance slightly on the affirmative side.

There is little to be said of the *Duque de Aquitania* apart from its relations to *Oreste*. The author is careful to make it clear at the outset that the unities of time and place are observed, the scene being the same throughout and the action extending only from midday to nightfall. The characters are few and the plot is of the simplest. Eudon, « a usurper », has compassed the death of his brother, the Duke of Aquitania, and having secretly sold the son and heir, Reynal, as a child, into slavery, is reigning in his place. He is (or pretends to be) in love with his niece Elisa, Reynal's sister, and on the day before the action begins, has taken her from the convent where she was being educated, proposing to marry her before dawn (so much the « unity » de-

primera || vez en el Coliséo del Príncipe || día 30 de mayo de 1807. || Madrid || Imprenta que fué de García. || Año de 1815 || pp. xxxiii 108. cm. 14,5 X 9,5.

The copy of this translation referred to will be found in the British Museum (11726 a.42) bound up with translations of two other plays, viz: Lemer cier's *Agamemnon* (trans. 1800); and Alfieri's *Virginia* (trans. 1813). It is preceded by a preface, dealing mainly with the dramatic genius of Alfieri, and by a dedication in verse to Isidoro Mayquez, who took the hero's part when the play was performed in the Teatro del Príncipe. In this verse dedication occurs a sentence which Saavedra may have remembered in writing his own dedication:

Ora, en fin, pintes del inachio Orestes
La ardiente furia, el immortal deseo
De su filial venganza..

mands!). A messenger, called Clonard, arrives to tell the usurper that Reynal is dead, but Clonard reveals himself, first to a faithful old retainer Arnaldo, and next to Elisa, as none other than the heir to the throne. Eudon's confidant, however, sees Elisa in Clonard's arms and naturally suspecting the supposed messenger's intentions, reports the fact to his master. A stormy interview between Eudon and Elisa is followed by the entry and arrest of Reynal, whose identity the tyrant discovers. In a final scene Reynal escapes, is acclaimed by people and courtiers as the rightful duke, and the usurper stabs himself. Elisa thereupon embraces Reynal and the play ends somewhat precipitately, Arnaldo pointing the moral in Calderonian fashion ¹.

It is not difficult to believe on internal grounds that the play was inspired by Alfieri's *Oreste*; so striking are the similarities between the two plots that it would seem at first as though Saavedra had merely adapted Alfieri's tragedy. In this Reynal is Oreste ², Eudon, Egisto (*Ægisthus*) who

1. The final words of the play are :

ARNALDO

El justo cielo siempre a los tiranos
Fin tan horrendo, inexorable guarda.

Cf. the ending of *Malék-Adhél* (pp. 167 ff. below) where the Archbishop fulfils the duties of his calling by remarking :

Inscrutables son vuestros decretos,
O justo Dios. El mísero, el mezquino
Mortal, tan sólo debe respetarlos
Humilde resignarse, y bendeciros.

2. Cañete (See Rivas, *Obras*, ed. 1854, p. XXVIII) says rather whimsically of the hero : « Es la milésima trasmigración del espíritu de Orestes, desnudo de la majestad y grandeza con que brilla en la sublime creación del trágico griego. »

has married Clytemnestra and ascended the throne; the late Duke of Aquitania corresponds to Agamemnon (whose death is the subject of an earlier tragedy, after Aeschylus, by Alfieri); and Elisa is, of course, Orestes' sister Elettra (Electra). The absence of Clytemnestra, Alfieri's most difficult character, from Saavedra's play, no doubt suggested the passages between Eudon and Elisa; the other principal character of Alfieri whom Saavedra does not present is Pilade (Pylades), Orestes' friend and confidant, the retainer, Arnaldo, taking his place. Alfieri's *Oreste* opens with a description by Clytemnestra of her sufferings and a scene which shows in what unhappy relations she is living with Ægisthus. Orestes and Pylades then appear, announcing the supposed death of Orestes. They first reveal themselves to Electra, and then present themselves to the King. The latter, however, suspects, and later discovers the truth; Orestes and Pylades are arrested; but the people rise, claim Orestes as their king, and demand Ægisthus' death. The end of the drama is of course tragic : Orestes kills, not only the usurper, but also (accidentally, not as in Aeschylus) his mother.

When we leave general considerations for a detailed examination of the two plays, the resemblances are less striking, though still noticeable. A comparison for example, of the scene (II, 1) of *Oreste* in which the hero and Pilade return to Argos with the similar scene between Reynal and Arnaldo (III, 1) in the *Duque de Aquitania*, will shew that Saavedra was not consciously adapting Alfieri's play, though he was undoubtedly indebted to it for some of his detail as for the plot. In each scene the friend fears the results of the hero's impetuosity and rebukes it, though Arnaldo is naturally more respectful and deferential in his words than Pilade.

ARNALDO

Qui regna Egisto, e ad alta voce
[parli
Qui di vendetta? Incauto, a co-
[tant' opra
Tal principio dàì tu?

**Ardire? Ne hai troppo. Oh! quante
[volte e quante
Tremi per te!**

**Oh giovenil bollore!
Sete di sangue?**

Oreste, or sí ten prego,
Per l'amistà, pel trucidato padre,
Taci : poche ore al senno mio
[tu dona.

Pero, o señor, prudencia. La
[prudencia
Debe alumbrar tus escondidos
[pasos.

... Y la cautela,
Y el sigilo, y la astucia, y el
recato
Coronarán tus justas intenciones.

¡ Joven incauto!

REYNAL

Amigo Arnaldo :
Tus prudentes consejos, la expe-
[riencia
Del venerable curso de tus años
Templan mi arrojo juvenil.

In each play the hero trusts in eternal justice :

ORESTE

REYNAL

**La giustizia eterna
Fia l'alta base**

Del alto cielo
Ya se desploma resonante el rayo
Tremendo y vengador sobre su
[frente.

and also in the potency of his name :

ORESTE

REYNAL

Ad avvilir costui,
Per sè già vile, il sol mio nome or
[basta;
Tropo è il mio nome... Nomarmi,
Ed ogni vil disperdere fia un
[punto.

Avergonzado

Estoy ya de ocultar mi egregio
[nombre
Delante del traidor.

In a passage which is probably a direct reminiscence, Arnaldo is made to remind Reynal of the King's many guards :

PILADE

A se dintorno
In copia avrà satélliti : tremante,
Ma salvo, ei stassi in mezzo a lor.

ARNALDO

La numerosa y formidable guar-
[dia
Custodia en derredor este palacio,
Nunca el usurpador se encuentra
[solo,
Le guardan donde quier sus
[partidarios.
Y (cual notaste), siempre re-
[celoso
Cuando se deja ver, es rodeado
De sus viles satélites.

ORESTE

Nomarmi,
Ed ogni vil disperdere fia un
[punto.

PILADE

Nomarti, ed esser trucidato, è un
[punto.
E di qual morte!

ARNALDO

¿Qué alcanzarás ¡ay triste! si
[obcecado.....
Descubrieras tu nombre, el duro
[acero
Esgrimiendo sin fruto? — Hecho
[pedazos
Fueras.

Both Arnaldo and Pilade take into account the popular temper, though they estimate it quite differently :

ORESTE

Il popol dunque a favor mio...

PILADE

Che speri?
Che in cor di serva plebe odio
[od amore
Possa eternarsi mai? Dai lunghi
[ceppi

ARNALDO

Aun hay valientes,
Y volarán ansiosos a ayudaros
El pueblo que oprimido y taci-
[turno
Sus hierros baña en impotente
[llanto,
Cuando de Eudon comprehenda
[los delitos,

Gnasta, avvilita, or l'un tiranno	La horrible usurpación, los aten-
[vede	[tados, etc.
Cadère, or sorger l'altro; e nullo	
n'ama,	
E a tutti serve; ed un Atride	
[obblía,	
E d'un Egisto trema.	

As the dialogue continues, Elettra (Elisa) is mentioned, and in the following scene appears. The steps which lead up to the mutual recognition of brother and sister are somewhat different, since, in Alfieri's play, Oreste is not sure if Elettra still lives. But the general similarity between the two recognition scenes is again unmistakable :

ELETTRA	REYNAL
... Conosci	¡Elisa!
Elettra tu.	Consuélate — ¡inocente! — oye
	[— tu hermano —
ORESTE	Vive. —
Sorella; oh ciel! — Tu vivi?	ELISA
Tu vivi? Ed io t'abbraccio?	¿Vive Reynal? — ¡o Dios
	[eterno! —
ELETTRA	¿Por qué queréis de mi aflicción
Oh giorno!	[burlaros.
ORESTE	REYNAL
Al petto	Vive...
Te dunque io stringo? Oh ines-	Mírame, Reynal soy, llega a mis
[plicabil gioja!	[brazos.

It would be possible to cite similar parallels from almost every scene of *Oreste* — parallels which, without being sufficiently exact to warrant the inference that the *Duque de Aquitania* was written with *Oreste* at the author's side, certainly suggest that Saavedra was inspired by Alfieri. The

scene (IV, 1) where Eudon confides to Linser his experiences and fears respecting Elisa; the scene of recriminations (IV, 3) between Elisa and Eudon; the successive scenes of the fifth act, especially that which describes the rising of the populace and the scenes leading up to the death of Eudon — all these have parallels in *Oreste*. What has no parallel in Saavedra's play is the intense dramatic quality of the genius of Alfieri, and the sheer power which, though it reaches its highest expression in *Saül* and *Myrrha*, is the outstanding characteristic of *Agamemnon* and *Oreste* too. The *Duque de Aquitania*, it is at the same time only fair to remark, was destined by its author, not to produce the effect of Alfieri's play but to excite primarily rather pity than awe. So much may be gathered from the way he speaks of the drama to his sister in the dedicatory lines :

Felice

Será si arranca de tu tierno pecho
Un ardiente suspiro, o si humedece
Su rostro hermoso con sensible llanto ¹.

and again :

Escucha a Elisa tímida, inocente,
Lamentar el rigor de su destino.
Y mírala en los brazos de su hermano
Amar, llorar, temblar... ¡Ay! su ternura,
Su fraternal cariño es un remedo
Del que en tu tierno corazón se anida,
Y hace el encanto de tus deudos todos ².

No chronicler records to what extent Saavedra was able to draw tears from his own family by this play, but it is certain

1. *Ed. cit.*, p. 98.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

that this was not the peculiar way in which he was destined later to appeal to the great public beyond. Nor, perhaps, did he again attempt this particular sort of appeal.

Malék-Adhé!, a « tragedy in five acts », is based avowedly upon a novel by Madame Cottin called *Mathilde*, published in 1805¹. The preface to the play for its frankness deserves full quotation.

Advertencia.

Habiendo venido casualmente a mis manos las apreciables obras de Mme Cottin, leí con sumo placer en ellas la preciosa novela titulada *Matilde*, y concebí inmediatamente el proyecto de escribir esta tragedia : aunque no dejaron de arredrarme la maestría con que aquella famosa escritora desempeñó su argumento, y las bellezas de toda especie con que lo engalanó su delicadeza y sensible pluma. Consulté mi pensamiento con algunos inteligentes; y aunque todos procuraron disuadirme, haciéndome patentes las dificultades con que iba a luchar; yo ya decidido tracé en grande esta composición, venciendo en cuanto pude los obstáculos que me ofrecía el reducir a cinco actos, a un solo lugar y a doce o catorce horas de tiempo, una acción de una novela de cinco o seis años de duración, complicada con mil incidentes importantísimos, que llena tres tomos abultados². Procuré sin embargo escoger los sucesos más interesantes, reunirlos y apresurar notablemente la catástrofe : y después

1. *Mathilde*, ou Mémoires tirés de l'histoire des Croisades, par Mme Cottin, Londres, chez M. Peltier, 18 Warwick St., Golden Square, 1805, 6 vol. : An English dramatic version of the novel was published in 1827 by one « Captain Longmore, Royal Staff Corps » under the title of *Matilde, or the Crusaders*. This is a much longer and more ambitious piece of work than Saavedra's, being an attempt to embrace the greater part of the plot. It is to be seen in the British Museum (841 g. 2).

2. La escena es en Ptolomayda, los cuatro primeros actos en un salón del palacio de los reyes cruzados; y el quinto en la capilla extra-muros donde estaba el sepulcro de Montmorancy.

La acción empieza al amanecer, y concluye a media noche.

de trazar y borrar, meditar y escribir, formé al fin con gran desconfianza un prolijo plan de esta tragedia, que manifesté a mis amigos y mereció su agrado. Dedicuéme entonces con calor a versificarla, y lo logré en pocos días, pues la mayor parte de sus razonamientos son casi traducción literal de los de la elegante y sentimental autora de la *Matilde*, y siguiendo siempre sus huellas llegué al cabo de mi tarea.

Por lo tanto esta tragedia es más de Madama Cottin que mía : suyo es el argumento, suyas las situaciones, suyos los caracteres, y suyo (*sic*) la mayor parte del diálogo; y míos solamente el plan dramático, los versos, y alguna que otra escena, tal vez las mas endebles. Finalmente si hay bellezas en *Malék-Adhél* son de aquella insigne francesa, y todos los defectos míos.

Espero sin embargo que si algún día sale a la escena, la mirarán con indulgencia los que conocen la dificultad de este género de trabajo, y los obstáculos que hay que vencer para dar forma trágica a la acción de una novela.

To say that he had reduced a novel in three bulky volumes to the dimensions of a five-act tragedy was something of an exaggeration on Saavedra's part. The action of the play begins only at Chapter XXXV of the novel, from which point to the end of *Mathilde* there is comprised barely more than one third of the whole. Of the earlier part of Mme Cottin's long narrative there are only reminiscences in the play. Agnès, the daughter of a former King of Jerusalem, who has sold herself to the Mohammedans, and whose relations with Malék-Adhél reinforce so strongly the antipathy to him of the Christian powers, finds no place in the tragedy, which indeed could support no such further complication. The life and death of Jocelyn de Montmorency are only mentioned to account for the reverence accorded to his tomb. Bérengère, Richard's queen, is also omitted, and with her disappear the events which play so prominent a part in the early chapters of the novel — the captivity of Bérengère and Matilde, the latter's intercession with Malék-Adhél, the permission and its withdrawal, and the final escape of Bérengère in Matilde's garments. Most of the Malék-Sala-

din episodes, together with the long and often tedious accounts of engagements between Moors and Christians, disappear entirely.

Saavedra was right, however, in his claim to have chosen the most interesting part of the narrative for his tragedy¹. He takes a point in the truce which follows upon Saladin's decision to cede Jerusalem to his brother under the conditions he names, and contrives to represent the death of Malék-Adhél as taking place at Montmorency's tomb on the same day. As the interview at the tomb takes place in Chapter XLIV of the novel, and everything beyond it enters only by allusion into the play, it follows that the part of Mme Cottin's narrative which Saavedra uses is still further reduced. The principal change in the narrative which this cutting short of the action necessitates is the coincidence of the Archbishop's arrival with Saladin's ultimatum.

1. The plot of the tragedy (an episode of the Third Crusade, c 1192), is briefly as follows : There is a truce in hostilities, Saladin having promised to cede to his brother Malék-Adhél the rule of Jerusalem if he marries Matilda, sister of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, who is in love with him and would marry him were he a Christian. The prelates in the Christian camp are assembled to decide what is to be done : it is thought that they will finally decide against the marriage. Meanwhile Richard has promised his sister to Guy de Lusignan, for whom she feels no affection. The revered William, Archbishop of Tyre, arrives, before the bishops' decision is known, from Jaffa, where he has been captured by infidels and rescued by none other than Malék-Adhél. His return gives rise to further speculations, but it is eventually announced that, largely owing to his representations, the offer will be rejected, unless Malék-Adhél becomes a Christian within three days. Various conversations follow, and the play is ended by Lusignan's surprising Malék-Adhél with Matilda at the tomb of the great French Crusader Montmorency, where he has summoned her to meet him. A conflict follows, in which Malék-Adhél is stabbed to death by Lusignan's squires, and Matilda announces her intention of entering a convent on Mt. Carmel.

A comparison of the principal scenes of the play with those of the novel will to some extent justify the modesty of Saavedra's assertions. He does, indeed, at times, translate whole passages from his original, and it is only occasionally that he does not follow it more or less faithfully. The opening scene (I, 1) in which Matilde soliloquises upon her destiny, is evidently suggested by Chapter XXXV.

Qui pourrait exprimer toutes les espérances qui s'éveillent, tous les sentiments qui se pressent dans le cœur de Mathilde?... Quel charme ce nom (Malék-Adhél) répand sur les pensées vagues et confuses qui se présentent à son esprit...

The lines are echoed by the Matilde of the tragedy :

(El) ronco mar, imagen espantosa
De mi confuso y agitado seno...
...¡O Cielos!
¡Matilde desdichada! ¡Cuál palpita
Tu enamorado y afligido pecho!

She laments the absence of the Archbishop ¹ and prays that her sin may not be visited upon her ²: thus much the opening scenes have in common.

The second scene of the first act is devoted to an exposition of the situation, effected by Matilde and a lay-figure

-
1. Elle implorait le retour de l'archevêque...
¡Mas cuánto tarda, cuánto!

2. Elle demandait seulement à Dieu de ne pas appuyer sa verge sur la plaie la plus sensible de son cœur, en la punissant dans Malék-Adhél.

Dios de venganza,
Amo a un infiel, a un impio sarrazeno;
Pero tú que formastès sus virtudes,
Sabrás benigno perdonar mi yerro.

« Hugo, prince de Tiberiades ». She first summarises Saladin's proposals, and informs him that the council has been considering them for eight days and will that day reach a decision. Hugo, in a few words of over-eulogistic description ¹, reveals the hero of the play as he is to be regarded, and Matilde, in response, unfolds the vow which she made to give herself to no other, and the circumstances which led up to it ². Finally they discuss the possibility of the Archbishop's return, and Matilde relates how Malék-Adhél has left the tournaments with which the Christians and Moslems were celebrating the truce, and gone at her request in search of the Archbishop ³. In the next scene (I, 3) Richard endeavours to anticipate the bishop's judgment and bestow his sister on Lusignan : this scene was no doubt suggested by Chapters XXVIII, XXXII and XLIII, of which it is a combination ⁴, and it gives Matilde an argument which she has not in the novel, — namely that the

-
1. Su corazón ternísimo y sincero,
 Su esplendente heroísmo, su grandeza,
 Su generosidad, sus altos hechos
 Encanto son de amigos y enemigos... (I, 2.)

2. Cf. *Mathilde*, Chapters XIX-XXIII. It is actually in Chapter XXII that the promise is given : « Et maintenant tu es digne d'être mon époux ; je jure de n'en avoir jamais d'autre que toi, je le jure à ce Dieu qui en ce moment remplit de son immensité et de sa toute-puissance et ce désert et ton cœur. » In the drama, however, we do not learn what the novel makes clear, *viz* : that Malék-Adhél had undertaken to embrace Christianity before the promise was given.

3. Chapter XXXIX. There is no mention in the play, however, of the scruples which Mathilde in the novel hints may be stronger than the Archbishop's principles, nor, for reasons of brevity, can the long argument between the lovers in the same chapter be reproduced.

4. Or by the lines in the novel at the place where it would naturally occur : « Le bouillant Richard... ne peut endurer la pensée d'une alliance avec celui qui les a humiliés tous deux, etc. » (Chapter XL.)

whole matter is *sub judice*. Then follows one of the passages taken almost literally from the novel :

CHAPTER XL

« Mon frère, dit-elle à Richard, l'archevêque sera demain ici; sans doute le rang qu'il tient dans l'église et la haute réputation de sagesse dont il jouit, ne permettra pas au conseil des évêques, quand il n'a qu'un jour à l'attendre, d'oser prononcer sans lui. » A ce discours Lusignan se lève tout à coup avec colère, Richard prend un air sévère, et demande à sa sœur comment elle peut affirmer que Guillaume sera le lendemain à Ptolemais. « Le prince me l'a dit, répliqua-t-elle en rougissant; sans doute il l'aura rencontré quelque part. » Les yeux pleins d'une noire tristesse, Lusignan dit à Richard : « Votre Majesté permettra-t-elle que le conseil des évêques soit rompu? »

Avant que le roi d'Angleterre eût eu le temps de répondre, les ducs de Bourgogne, d'Autriche, de Bavière, tous les princes et chefs s'écrièrent d'une commune voix, qu'il était d'une rigoureuse justice d'envoyer prévenir le conseil des évêques du retour de Guillaume.

ACT I. SCENE III

RICARDO

Hoy el decreto
De los obispos fijará.

MATILDE

¿Y acaso
Osarán decidir, sin que Guillermo
Cuya alta clase, y santidad su-
[blime,
Ciencia, y reputación...

... Yo por el cielo
Te juro, que antes que concluya
[el día
Dentro de estas murallas le
[veremos.

RICARDO

¿Hoy debe de llegar? ¿Cómo?

MATILDE

Ricardo :

Hoy mismo, yo lo sé.

LUSIGNAN

¡Destino adverso!

MATILDE

¿Y que no será justo, hermano
[mío,
Para resolución de tanto peso
Esperar su llegada? O vos va-
[lientes
Príncipes, decidid.

LUSIGNAN

Ricardo egregio :
 ¿Y vos consentiréis que se sus-
 [penda
 De los santos obispos el consejo,
 Ni un instante? ¡Senor!

PRINCIPES CRUZADOS

Quede suspenso
 El concilio.

There follows upon this scene in the play, — and naturally enough, — the hasty quarrel and reconciliation of Richard and Lusignan (I, 4) which in the novel occupies part of Chapter XLII; the similarity between the two scenes, though not striking enough to warrant quotation, suggests nevertheless that Mme Cottin is still being followed.

The second act opens with the return of Guillelmo (II, 1) ¹ and Malék-Adhél (II, 2) who thus makes his first appearance. The short interview between the lovers (II, 2) has reminiscences of various such interviews in the novel ², and the following quarrel (II, 3) between Malék-Adhél and Lusignan appears to be the counterpart of the fight which closes Book III. In the fifth scene Guillelmo enters, and the narrative of his adventures will be seen to have been taken

1 The description of Guillelmo (II, 1, 1-18) by Hugo is apparently original, but quite conventional

2. *E. g.*, Matilde's eager demand :

 ¿la voz eterna
 De Dios que os llama? (ll. 8-9.)

recalls the Queen's timid enquiry of the Archbishop in Chapter xli, while the vow which Matilde renews to her lover in Hugo's presence is strikingly similar to her declaration to Richard and Lusignan in Chapter xxxiv.

almost *verbatim* from the novel, and abridged somewhat owing to the length of the scene.

It is unnecessary to multiply textual comparisons in order to make clear how little originality there is in Saavedra's play. A rapid analysis of the third and fourth acts will show how the course of the novel is followed. The interview between Richard and Matilde (III, 1) which is interrupted (III, 2) by the news of Lusignan's encounter with Malék-Adhél outside, is drawn with but little variation from the continuation of Chapter XLI. The scenes (III, 4, 5, 6) which follow Malék's entry are different in substance from that of Chapter XLII only in the absence of witnesses other than Matilde's ladies during one of them, and in the utilising of Hugo to convey the news of the bishops' decision. The swooning of Matilde in this scene (III, 6) is a touch of originality, of which, however, there are enough suggestions elsewhere in the novel, for Matilde frequently faints in its course as do the other characters also from time to time. Nevertheless the simplicity of the reception of the news is dramatically good, and Matilde's invocation, which is original, suggests Don Alvaro's later farewell to life :

MALÉK-ADHÉL

¿El término es tres días?... ¡Ah!... me afrenta
Me agravia el que ese espacio vergonzoso
Para un perjurio vil se me conceda.
¿Necesito ese tiempo por ventura
Para no cometer una vileza?...
No, triunfador glorioso Saladino;
No, hermano a quien adora mi alma tierna;
No, patria idolatrada... ¿Abandonaros?...
¿Venderos?... No será.

MATILDE

Ábrete, o tierra :
¿Qué rayo el alto cielo me fulmina?
(*Cae desmayada en los brazos de sus damas*)

HUGO

| Infelice Matilde ¹ |

It is at this point that Saavedra begins to depart to some extent from his model. Act III, Scene 7 itself is by no means exactly paralleled by the narrative, and in Act IV there is more than one important variation. The appointment at the tomb is in the novel made by Malék-Adhél in person :

Il se pencha vers le rideau et dit :

Mathilde, te souviens-tu du serment que tu fis au désert ; hors le sacrifice de ton innocence et de ta foi, tu t'engages à ne m'en refuser aucun ; le moment est arrivé d'acquitter ta promesse, demain il faut nous voir dans le tombeau de Montmorency ; en ce moment je cours m'y ensevelir, j'y reste jusqu'à ce que tu y viennes ; si tu n'y viens pas, j'y resterai encore, et un jour, auprès des cendres d'un héros, on trouvera celles de Malék-Adhél ².

In the play the language of this summons is almost identical with that of the novel :

No olvides, o Matilde, el juramento,
Que en medio del desierto, en la sagrada
Presencia del Señor omnipotente,
En libertad hiciste : nada, nada
Reservarme juraste, exceptuando
Tu inocencia y tu fe. De tu palabra
El cumplimiento ya llegó. Interesa
A la quietud eterna de mi alma
Tornarte a ver. Es fuerza que esta noche
De la sombra a favor, dejes tu estancia,
Yendo a la regia tumba, do reposa
El gran Montmorency, que allí te aguarda

1. Act III, Scene VI

2. Chapter XLII.

Este infelice. Mas si tu perjura
De mí te olvidas, y en buscarme faltas,
Allí desesperada horrible muerte
Dará fin desastroso a mi(s) desgracias,
Y se hallarán junto al sepulcro mudo
Donde el héroe francés en paz descansa,
Del desdichado Adhél, los restos fríos.
Ya mi resolución está fijada ¹. »

But the important point is that in the drama they are the words of a letter, prepared by two short scenes (IV, 1, 2) and followed by a soliloquy which conveys the difficult situation in which Matilde finds herself much more forcibly than the author's short reflexions at the opening of Chapter XLIII.

There seems, however, to be another reason for these variations from Mme Cottin's narrative, which is of some importance to our general theme. Mme Cottin makes Montmorency's tomb nothing more than a convenient meeting-place, utilised on several occasions during the story. But Saavedra (thinking perhaps of *Romeo and Juliet*, or perhaps of the fondness of some of his contemporaries for tombs) conceived of this grave of the great French warrior as a suitable background for the final assassination scene, which the exigencies of the stage and the unities forced him to antedate. We have in this play a clear sign of the attraction for Saavedra of the gruesome and the melodramatic: how it developed we shall see in the *Moro Expósito*, *Don Alvaro* and the late verse romances.

The first scene of Act IV strikes the dominant note :

MATILDE

Confusión, amargura, horrible espanto
Por do quier me circundan...

1. Act IV, Scene III.

¿Qué hielo pasma
La sangre toda de mis venas? ¡Cielos!

The account given by Hugo (IV, 2) of Malék's behaviour increases its effect :

al ver acaso
La lúgubre mansión donde descansa
En la marmorea silenciosa tumba
El gran Montmorency; de pronto para,
Tiembla, y del hondo de su noble pecho
Un suspiro de horror pálido arranca.

The length of the letter and that of the soliloquy which follows it form a further preparation for the culminating scene, and the interviews of Matilde with the Archbishop (IV, 4) and with Richard and Lusignan (IV, 5), which follow the novel, end with significant lines which are not suggested by it :

MATILDE

¡O Dios! ¡Qué horror! jamás, jamás. Su vista
De terrible pavor mi pecho embarga.
¿Dónde me esconderé de los tiranos?
A esta infeliz, eterno Dios, ampara.

We may admit at once that the final scene of the play, — where Matilde declares brusquely her intention of retiring to Mt. Carmel and Guillelmo points the moral in four lines which need only rime to make them ridiculous, — is immeasurably weaker than a score of endings which could have been fashioned from some of the rather impressive scenes in the novel. If the play could have ended with the third scene, on the other hand, and in the accepted manner of Romantic drama, the merits of such a catastrophe must surely have been recognised; even as it is, it seems strange that more critics have not recognised the power of the fifth act. The

preparatory effects which ~~we~~ have noted are heightened at the beginning of the act by the insertion of the only indication of scenery in the tragedy :

El teatro representa una magnífica capilla sepulcral, adornada de despojos militares, y alumbrada con una lámpara ; y en medio del foro debe levantarse un magnífico sepulcro lleno de trofeos ¹.

An analysis of Act V, Scenes 1-3, which lead up to the catastrophe proper, will show how Saavedra invents and adapts his original in order to convey the desired effect of horror which in his view accentuates the tragic impression.

SCENE I (Malék-Adhél's soliloquy) is original. Its ostensible theme — Will Matilde come or no? — seems to be less important than the emotional tone which the soliloquy creates. We are in the « mansión tranquila de la muerte » : we are made to feel the very chill of the tomb :

¡Qué hielo horrible
Lento discurre por los miembros míos!

« Peace dwells in the tomb », cries Malek-Adhel :

El silencio, el pavor tienen su asilo
En estas altas bóvedas oscuras,
Do lúgubres resuenan mis suspiros.
El silencio, la paz, que yo infelice
Me atrevo a perturbar en mi delirio.
En esta tumba en sempiterno sueño
Del gran Montmorency los restos fríos
Yacen por siempre ²...

1. Obviously taken from Mme Cottin (Chapter xxxviii) : « Elle s'enfonce sous les lugubres ombres de ce monument où repose le plus grand des chevaliers français ; tout l'intérieur est tendu de noir et une magnifique lampe d'argent l'éclaire nuit et jour. »

2. Act V, Scene 1.

SCENE II. The scene in the novel opens with a prolixity which is somewhat ludicrous : Saavedra, in changing it, strikes the note of horror once more :

CHAPTER XLIV

ACT V, SCENE II

La vierge descend tout éperdue... Elle pousse la porte, elle entre sans adresser une seule prière à Dieu comme la dernière fois qu'elle y vint : ses pas sont précipités et tremblants et ses esprits sont dans un tel trouble qu'elle néglige toutes les précautions et oublie en entrant de refermer la porte. Malék-Adhél ne pense point à le faire; peut-il penser à autre chose qu'à Mathilde? Il court à elle, il embrasse ses genoux. « Laisse-moi, dit-elle, d'un air égaré, laisse-moi. » Mais elle ne peut point se soutenir, elle chancelle, fléchit, et s'asseyait sur le cercueil.

MATILDE

¡Qué horror!... ¡Cielos! ¿dó es-
[toy?... ¿por qué mi planta
A este lugar terrible me ha
[traído?...
¡Qué silencio!

MALÉK-ADHÉL

Matilde.

MATILDE

¡Oh Dios!

From the point last quoted (line 3) to line 188 the play follows the story almost exactly¹, occasionally abridging it slightly

1. Except for the insertion of a characteristic line like :

¿Y no se abre la tierra y me confunde?

and for the amplification of « mon affreux désespoir » into :

« mi horrendo despecho, el hondo abismo
De tormentos do vas a despeñarme... »

In the play too, Malék-Adhél actually produces a dagger when he threatens to take his life — a dramatic touch appropriate to the last act of a tragedy.

and once (ll. 99-120) considerably enlarging it. The course of the play then leaves that of the novel¹ : Matilde asks her lover quite openly to take her to the convent on Mt. Carmel instead of dissimulating as in the story; a noise (as in the earlier tomb-scene of Chapter XXXIX) causes Malék-Adhél to hide behind the sepulchre² and Lusignan enters with his *escuderos*.

SCENE III. The opening is original³. Lusignan adjures Matilde to leave the tomb⁴ and return with him to Richard :

Es deber mío
Arrancaros al punto de este suelo
Pavoroso y terrible⁵.

At Lusignan's mention of their marriage Malék emerges from his hiding-place, and the last combat begins. But if there are reminiscences now of the combat in Chapter LII, nothing could be farther in spirit from that matter-of-fact description. Once more Saavedra gives signs of the type of drama by which he will make his name. « Crois-moi, Lusignan », says the Malék of the novel to his rival,

Crois-moi, Lusignan, n'usons point de ces vains moyens de défense qui retarderaient notre défaite, et précipitons, au contraire, l'instant où l'un de nous aura cessé de haïr l'autre⁵.

Compare Saavedra's Malék-Adhél :

Llegó el momento,
Yo soy Malék-Adhél, yo tu enemigo

1. Not, as in Chapter xxxix, under the pall, which (in the novel) Matilde has time to « arrange round his head ».

2. In Chapter xxxix it is Bérengère who surprises Matilde in the tomb; in Chapter XLIV, the Archbishop.

3. « Este sepulcro lóbrego y sombrío. » (l. 26.)

4. ll. 34-6.

5. Chapter LII.

Más implacable, más feroz, que anhela
Beber tu sangre vil. Vamos ¹.

Lusignan is no less emphatic :

¡Horrible insulto!
Muera, muera.

Vengüemos los ultrajes de Dios mismo.
Muera el infiel, y con su sangre impura
Al Cielo hagamos grato sacrificio.

Húndete para siempre en el abismo ².

The presence of Matilde and the cries of herself and her dying lover enable the dramatist to bring the play to a more effective climax than the novelist attempts to do :

MATILDE

¡O verdugos! ¡qué horror! ¡monstruo inhumano!
¡Amado Adhél! ¡Adhél! ¡Dios compasivo!
Tiembra, tiembra perverso. — De esa tumba
Alzate, o sombra, y venga de tu amigo
El vil asesinato.

MALÉK-ADHÉL

¡O Dios! Matilde,
Huye de ese, cobarde, de ese inicuo,
Maldícele conmigo, y sosegado
Baja a las sombras del sepulcro frío .(*Expira.*)

1. Act V, Scene III, ll. 54-7.

2. Act V, Scene III, ll. 62-3; 65-7; 69.

The course of the combat follows that of the novel, save that there are two squires who assassinate the Saracen instead of one, as in *Mme Cottin*.

MATILDE

¡ Ya expiró! — ¡ Eterno Dios! dadle venganza.

This play, imperfect as it is, shews nevertheless from the Romantic standpoint a great advance upon the *Duque de Aquitania*. In the latter play there was nothing peculiarly mediaeval or Christian, except nominally. Exclamations like

¡ Oh Dios!... ¡ Eterno Dios!...

are neutralised, to say the least of it, by fatalistic references to « mi desdichada estrella », « la negra suerte », « el duro brazo de la injusta parca », which may be found alongside conventional religious phrases like « el alto cielo » and « divina providencia »¹. There is scarcely an allusion which could fix the date of the play, and certainly no passage occurs which would grave time and *milieu* ineradicably on the reader's memory. *Malék-Adhél*, on the other hand, is at least built round an episode of mediaeval history, and could not, like the *Duque de Aquitania*, be turned into a play of Greek or Roman antiquity by the change of a few names.

Further, the violent contrasts in the plot and the tendency to dwell upon the horrible and grotesque, — features already clear from the foregoing analysis, — are suggestive rather of the new type of drama than of the old, though the nature of the plot depends in part upon the difficulties of compressing the novel, and the horrors are but a shadow of things yet to come.

It is an easy enough task to point out the weaknesses of *Malék-Adhél*. That Saavedra had not as yet conceived the idea of writing an original play round some episode of the

1. For an examination of the fatalism of this and other of Saavedra's works, see below, pp. 383 ff.

history of Mediaeval Spain is fairly evident, and it is equally clear that he was so straitly bound to contemporary models as not to have thought of investing his plays with the qualities of his lyric verse. There are a few suggestive images here and there in *Malék-Adhé*¹, but no colour, and hardly a stray touch of description, and this is the more remarkable because there are passages in the novel where the golds and purples, not only of the warrior's array, but of sunrises and sunsets, actually recall Saavedra's poems to the reader :

Déjà les rayons du soleil commençaient à pâlir... Lusignan paraît poussant son coursier à toute bride, mais il est sans armes... un chapeau ombragé de plumes a remplacé son casque, et au défaut de cuirasse, un manteau de pourpre à fleurs d'or flotte sur ses épaules².

Cent cavaliers à cheval marchaient devant lui; l'air agitait leurs mobiles panaches, et sur leur brillante armure l'or et l'azur faisaient éclater leurs feux; cinquante gardes à pied les précédaient, le front ceint d'un turban, habillés de longues robes chamarrées d'argent et de soie... La troisième aurore depuis leur départ commençait à colorer le ciel de ses nuages et de pourpre, lorsqu'ils aperçurent les clochers de Ptolemaïs³.

Sur la poitrine du jeune héros on voyait étinceler un riche vêtement, trempé trois fois dans la pourpre de Tyr, et au-dessus de son casque d'airain un triple panache blanc s'épanouissait par étage et se balançait dans l'air... Il aperçut Bérengère, et derrière elle sa sœur que Lusignan conduisait... Sa robe de gaze d'argent était élégamment

1. The play opens with an image of light

Ya de Carmelo en la fragosa cumbre
Brilla la luz del sol...

We catch a glimpse of the « plateada Luna »

Al asomar...
En la abrasada arena del desierto... (I, 2.)
etc.

2. Chapter xxxvii.

3. *Ibid.*

relevée avec des nœuds de rubis et de pierreries dont les feux éblouissaient, et sur sa tête un tissu délicat d'or et de pourpre retenait sa blonde chevelure ¹.

All these passages are taken from that part of the novel which Saavedra used, yet he deliberately rejects them.

Nor, in spite of the opportunities afforded by the mediaeval and Christian interest of the Crusades, the Moslem environment (which the author was forced to study later in writing the *Moro Expósito*) and the English element, which Saavedra might well have successfully exploited at that time, is there any local colour worthy of the name in this play.

« Ricardo » is described in the list of *personae* as « rey de Inglaterra », and « Matilde » as « princesa de Inglaterra ». But Richard's nationality is only recalled to the reader when he is addressed as « rey de Albion ² » — a conventional enough title, — or, more frequently, as « rey de Bretania », while the dramatist's one further reference to England seems to have struck him as peculiarly fine, since he repeats it, and never ventures upon another. To an Englishman it seems meaningless :

MATILDE

En el alcázar regio,
Que allá venera el Támesis humbrío
No encontrara jamás tanto respeto ³.

1. Chapter XXXVIII.

2. *E. g.*, III, II, I:

HUGO

Rey de Albion, volad...
IV, VI, 51 :

GUILLELMO.

Rey de Albion, si deslumbrado y ciego
Oprimes a Matilde nuestra hermana,
Holláis la religión y la justicia...

3. I, 2.

MALÉK-ADHÉL

En su corte estarás más respetada,
Que en la que riega el Támesis humbrío ¹.

And not only is « Ricardo » a poorly drawn Briton : he has not even the interest of that Cœur-de-Lion in the *Conde Lucanor* ² « a great warrior, pillaging towns and driving their inhabitants into exile » and withal « a man who had done surpassingly well in the service of God and in exalting the Catholic faith ». One would have thought that this conception, at least alternatively to that of a Wellington of the Crusades, would have had its attractions, if conscientiously worked out, for the public now growing up which was before long to applaud the *Moro Expósito*.

1. Neither this nor the preceding reference to the Thames occurs in Mme Cottin's novel.

2. Chapter IV: « Sabia que era (el rey Richarte) home muy guerrero, et que habia muertas y robadas y desterradas muchas gentes... home que tan servicio ficiera a Dios et tanto ensalzamiento a la fe catolica. »

V

Florinda. — An advance upon the *Paso honroso*. — Its plot. — Appearance of new and Romantic traits : the elements of horror and mystery. — Insistence upon the part played by Destiny. — The individuality of *Florinda* ; its regionalism.

As the compositions of Saavedra's extreme youth include one long poem, *El Paso honroso*, so those of the exile are swelled by a narrative poem, about half as long again, called *Florinda*. To the present writer *Florinda* furnishes the most convincing evidence that wherever Saavedra took his earliest lessons in Romantic art it was not in Malta. The poem consists of five cantos, in *octavas*, of which the first two were written in London (1824) the third was begun on the *Aeschylus* and completed at Gibraltar (1825), and the fourth and fifth were composed in Malta. It would be impossible, however, to tell this from internal evidence. The last two cantos are no more « Romantic » than the first three : indeed, they contain almost twice as many classical allusions as the three earlier cantos¹, and of the few other signs of the eighteenth century they have at least their share.

1. There is no stanza in Cantos I-III with lines like this (iv, 38) :

... do Favonio ondea
Selvas de olivos, bosques de laureles;
Do jamás reina invierno, donde emplea

Saavedra at one time thought as badly of *Florinda* as of his early lyrics. It appears originally to have had eight cantos¹, which were reduced to five for publication as an appendix to the *Moro Expósito*, in which form it first saw the light, in 1834. In a prefatory note² the author says that had « his friends the publishers » not wished it he would not have allowed the appearance of a poem written before he came under the influences which transformed his work³. In spite of the drastic revision which he has made, and which give the poem as it stands the character of a fragment, he disclaims any merit for *Florinda* at all⁴.

How then, it may be asked, can anything of virtue be found in *Florinda* when its author considered it so nearly the antithesis of his later poems? The answer is a double one. In the first place, it is clear from what has already been written that Saavedra did not himself realise that Romanticism had not entirely been imposed upon him from without, but that it was on the contrary latent in his own talents. Secondly, the words just quoted were written at a moment of reaction — when everything that was not *à la Hugo* was

Eternamente Flora sus pinceles;
Donde el azahar las auras embalsama,
Y altísimos ingenios Febo inflama.

1. The original form is not available for reference, never having been published.

2. *Ed. cit.*, Vol. II, p, 212.

3. ... Cuando aún tenían en mi modo de escribir influencia las impresiones recibidas desde la infancia y un gusto diferente del que ahora me domina. (*Ibid.*)

4. No obstante de que he procurado hacer las supresiones de modo que forme un todo no interrumpido lo que ahora se imprime, debe mirarse siempre como fragmentos, no como una obra completa; y puedo asegurar a mis lectores, que si ganan muy poco con los trozos que aquí se publican, pierden de seguro menos con los suprimidos. (*Ibid.*)

to be despised and disowned, when he would have put the 1820 volumes on the fire. That his own estimate of *Florinda* improved is clear from his inclusion of the poem — in its revised five-canto form — in the edition of 1854; others apparently thought well of it too, as its inclusion in later editions bears witness.

The poem as a whole shows us Saavedra as the more than half-fledged Romantic, and is as striking an advance on the *Paso honroso* as was that poem upon his earlier verses. The story of Rodrigo, the last of the Visigothic kings, of Florinda la Cava, his paramour, the traitor Opas, and Florinda's father Don Julián, takes the reader back to the legendary epoch of the seventh century, and gives the poet a theme with far more possibilities than that of his earlier attempt at legend. It is no monotonous procession of combatants in a duel that he unfolds before our eyes, but a drama instinct with emotion, full of life and vivacity, bringing into play the triple forces of patriotism, love and religion, which are the main themes of all Romantic legend and story. The plot resembles that of the *Paso honroso* in its strict unity — a tendency which Saavedra's plots seldom lose. But it is far more skilfully developed than its predecessor, our interest rising to a well-judged climax, and growing as we unconsciously identify ourselves with the principal characters, who are considerably more real than in the *Paso honroso*. And we must appreciate the description and imagery of *Florinda*, the use of the supernatural and the advance in technique before we can adequately measure the superiority of the second long poem over the first.

In the opening scene of the romance, and to some extent also throughout its course, there are two characteristically Romantic traits which, be it noted, made their first real appearance in Saavedra's work through a poem commenced in England. One of these is the element of horror. Rubén,

the Jewish magician, rises at table, his eyes flashing fire,
and a voice like thunder cries

¡Oh Dios! ¿qué estáis brindando?
Sangre llena esta copa, sangre, y miro
Sangre doquiera que la vista giro ¹.

The scene between Rubén and Rodrigo in Canto II conveys
the same effect ², which is heightened when Rubén leaves
him :

Rodrigo helado
Tiembla, y por mano oculta, irresistible,
Para retroceder se halla atajado,
Entre las sombras y el silencio horrible ³.

If there is much of this sort that is ineffective in the poem,
— too much of the

ronco horrísono alarido
Que conmoviera el torreón alzado
Por los lúgubres ecos repetido ⁴.

it must be remembered that this was Saavedra's first essay
in the horrible.

The second element is that of mystery, which is wholly
absent from the opening of *El Paso honroso*, but is to play
an important part both in *El Moro Expósito* and *Don Alvaro*.
In the *Paso honroso* the characters are presented in turn
without any attempt at artistic effect. The opening scene
of *Florinda*, on the other hand, is carefully staged, and the

1. I, 16.

2. II, 22-32. Here the moon is introduced to heighten the effect.

3. II, 33. For a later example and an earnest of what Saavedra
was shortly to accomplish in this kind in the *Moro Expósito* see V, 51.

4. I, 57. Cf. the « ronca y honda voz y acento obscuro » of I, 59,
and I, 71, etc.

introduction of Don Julián is contrived in such a way as to stimulate curiosity and compel attention. Rodrigo and Florinda are seated, with their court; the hall is crowded with their numerous attendants; and the reader is taken aside to be shown a mysterious figure of sinister intent, whose identity he cannot so much as guess¹. Rubén's terrible prophecy has hardly thrown the assembly into silence when this stranger rushes to the table and makes an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the King. It is only when the mysterious stranger is seized by the pages and guards that his identity is discovered.

This initial effect is enhanced by the atmosphere of mystery which surrounds the remainder of the story. There is the « iron hand » which is represented as having so curious an effect on Florinda and Rodrigo², presumably the same hand as restrains Rodrigo after his interview with Rubén³. The magician himself, shunned alike by men and beasts, and living in a bramble-ridden waste⁴, is a figure of mystery.

-
1. ... Un incógnito entróse, a quien cubría
 Armadura completa sin ornato,
 La espada en cinta y baja la visera,
 Cual si un soldado de la guardia fuera.

A uno de los pilares arrimado,
 En que estribaba el artesón del techo,
 Estaba del bullicio separado,
 Con los brazos cruzados sobre el pecho;
 Y como en él ninguno ha reparado,
 De cuanto pasa en torno está en acecho;
 A la dama y al Rey atento mira,
 Y se le abrasa el corazón en ira. (Canto I, Stanzas 10, 11.)

2. Quoted below, p. 193 from II, 16.

3. II, 33; quoted above, p. 189. Cf. again II, 31, l. 4; 37, l. 2..

4. II, 19, 30; cf. XXVII.

Strange happenings occur during Rodrigo's visit to him, and on the King's homeward journey he has a vision :

Entre humo denso y llama aterradora,
Cual es la de las iras del Eterno,
Fantasma colosal, reina y señora
De los vicios que aborta el hondo averno,
Alaase; y a Rodrigo vengadora
Se acerca, con sonrisa del infierno,
Y esgrimiendo un buril de brasa ardiente,
Exterminio grabó sobre su frente ¹.

This is surely the *nec plus ultra* of mystery and horror, and it is hardly necessary to pursue the story further, and recount the conclusion of Canto II, where Florinda finds Rodrigo, who first appears to her as

Un silencioso bulto que la espanta,
Y lanza un grito sin mover la planta ²

or the opening scene of Canto IV :

Cruzan de noche entre hórridos nublados
Fantasmas blanquecinos, y en voraces
Llamas, que los mortales no encendieran,
Antiguas selvas con asombro ardieran ³.

The nature of *Florinda* is already sufficiently clear.

In both these characteristics, besides breaking new ground, Saavedra was rehearsing effects to be produced in his later masterpieces. One more very noticeable trait in which the poet is anticipating himself is his insistence upon *la fuerza del sino*. It was only natural that a romance dealing with the Mohammedan era in Spain should contain numerous re-

1. II, 38.

2. II, 73.

3. IV, 4.

ferences to fate, but that Destiny, in her own form or scarcely concealed under an appearance of Christianity, should preside over the whole story is a clear indication of the bent of the author's mind. Don Julián's dishonour is his « destino horrendo ¹ »; his daughter's birth was willed by « la celeste ira ² »; Florinda herself spends a night « lamentando el rigor de las estrellas ³ » Rodrigo goes to consult Rubén « arrastrado por su estrella ⁴ »; and as the narrative proceeds the reader is reminded that he is not a free agent, by reflections and parentheses which are not always so artistically perfect as one might wish ⁵. Saavedra himself takes the same standpoint as his characters. When a man loses hope, he says, let him go down to the grave, for Destiny is calling him ⁶. At the beginning of Canto III he makes a digression to speak of Fate's unkindness to himself ⁷. In Canto IV the poet,

1. Canto I, Stanza 47.

2. I, 60; cf. IV, 59; V, 34.

3. II, 46.

4. II, 22.

5. II, 24 : « El punto era llegado
Por el cielo inmutable decretado. »

II, 26 :

Al fin (que su destino lo arrastraba)
Da un golpe a su pesar...

In speaking to the Hebrew, Rodrigo hopes that « la Parca » may cut the thread of his life if his hopes are not fulfilled. Rubén replies « Mis labios sella el áspero destino »...

He cannot help him :

La fuerza de los astros me lo veda. (Cf. IV, 1.)

6. Baje el hombre al sepulcro, que el destino
A él le llama con voz terrible y cierta. (I, 49.)

7. See III, 3, 4, 5.

narrating the events of the battle, christianises his Destiny somewhat ¹, but soon returns — still in his own person — to speak of the stars ². Other examples might be multiplied, from the serenade in Canto II ³, where various names are used for Fate; in the further description of the battle; and in the dreadful events of the last canto ⁴, even to the final stanza. But it is unnecessary to labour what is sufficiently clear, — that this *motif* of Destiny never ceases to be heard in any one part of the poem.

It should be added that its appearance is not always merely verbal. Once, at least, the idea of Destiny is materialised with considerable effect, when Rodrigo and Florinda in their guilty yet irresistible love

Sienten inexorable, a toda hora,
Que sus entrañas míseras aprieta
Una mano de hierro abrasadora,
Que arterias y pulmones les sujeta;

-
1. Pesa el brazo de Dios irresistible
Sobre el pueblo español... (IV, 3).
Implorando piedad del cielo santo... (IV, 7).

2. Do gozaste después, por mala estrella... (IV, 8)
But again (IV, 13) :

Es que la ira de Dios lleva consigo,
Está en su frente la venganza escrita.

Immediately after which (IV, 14) :

... Tú también, temiendo al hado crudo...

3. II, 61, 69, 70, 71, 72.

4. *E. g.*, V, 34 :

Que al Destino inmutable todo cede...

V, 44 :

¿No ves que el crudo cielo está cerrado
A toda compasión para contigo?

Y que sus corazones vengadora
 Punza invisible bárbara saeta :
 Respirar quieren, y les huye el aura,
 Que cuanto vive, plácida restaura ¹.

The almost entire disappearance of classical commonplaces, together with the distinctly less crude, though still imperfect characterisation, combine with the positive qualities just described to set an indelible seal of Romanticism upon *Florinda*. The great national hero merely named in *El Paso honroso* is here eulogised as... « el gloriosísimo Pelayo ²!!! » It only remains to add that the individuality of its author is even more strongly marked than in the *Paso honroso*. True to history, he places the story in its proper setting :

Casi en mitad de la extendida España,
 De Toledo saluda las almenas,
 Y los peñascos do se empanan baña,
 Tajo, que envuelve en oro sus arenas;
 Y luego entre tomillos y espadaña,
 Y por feraces márgenes amenas,
 Deslizándose, gira sosegado
 Sobre un risueño y delicioso prado ³...

So the poem begins, but we are not long in arriving

al último término de España,
 A las costas que el mar sañudo azota ⁴

We are never allowed to forget the poet's native country, its « azucenas y jazmines ⁵ », its « opimas mieses », « odorantes prados, donde agua hermosa serpentea, »

1. II, 16.

2. v, 38; cf. v, 40.

3. I, I.

4. II, 9.

5. IV, 8.

Adornados de hierbas y de flores,
Poblados de ganados y pastores .

above all the sacred Betis, « el claro Betis ² » « el Betis olivoso ³ »

risueño y caudaloso,
Lo mejor de la España fecundando ⁴,

on the banks of which the second canto familiarly opens, and to which there is continual reference, often by the modern name. There is nothing conventional, for example, in a picture like this :

Tal, cuando por Diciembre turbio brama
Guadalquivir, y la limosa orilla
Rompiendo, en la ancha vega se derrama,
Y al más erguido alcor vence y humilla;
Desde los mismos muros (que alta fama,
No ya poder, conservan), gran Sevilla,
Pálidos ví buscar refugio en ellos
A cuantos moran tus contornos bellos ⁵.

The unaffected opening of the fifth canto, again, brings before the eye with perfect clearness

la entrada del campo y llano extenso
Por donde Guadalete se apresura
A dar al mar vecino humilde censo,
Entre adelfas, palmares y verdura ⁶.

or in other words reproduces a scene in that journey from

1. III, 60.

2. II, 1.

3. II, 4.

4. IV, 37.

5. IV, 42.

6. V, 1.

Sevilla to Cádiz which no doubt the exile had often made ten or fifteen years before he was writing.

Colour and light play a not less important part than in the lyrics of this period. Moonlight scenes still hold the poet-painter¹; the images of light still flash across his canvas, if fitfully and not always with great effect²; and the colours, though at times dull and commonplace³, lend splendour at others to the court scenes and similar ones conceived with true Spanish magnificence⁴. Occasionally they flash with a brilliance that reveals the painter's growing art. Charac-

1. *E. g.*, I, 32; II, 76; III, 38, 53, 56; IV, 10, and especially II, 22-3 (where moonlight is used to accentuate horror), and the eloquent digression of II, 49.

2. Some typical examples are to be found in I, 51; II, 72; III, 8; III, 59, and more extended images in III, 42; III, 55; V, 37.

3. Varied examples of commonplace colouring may be chosen without any great difficulty :

I, 15. « La barba... cual blanca nieve » contrasted with the black dress.

I, 31.	Al rojo despuntar de la mañana.
II, 58.	Más linda que la flor del verde lino.
III, 73.	La plata y el zafir de la alta esfera.
II, 62.	Al rojo amanecer los dos saldremos.

Metaphorically, too, black is in the ascendant : the « negro crimen » (IV, 29), the « negro manto de la noche » (II, 60); « su espesa y negra sombra tiende La noche del error » (II, 42), *etc.*

More or less realistic seem the « tallos pardos » of I, 24; the « negra bruma » of II, 13 (cf. the « niebla blanquecina » of II, 23 and V, 11, 62) the « zafir del Tajo » (II, 60 — this is somewhat startling!); the « cerúleas olas » (III, 7); the « pardo musgo » of III, 37; the « nube cárdena » (cf. III, 70) of V, 41, which darkens the sky; and the dawn of the *finale* :

Cuando el alba argentaba el horizonte.

4. *E. g.* the gold, the purple canopy and the white tapers of I, 6; the black marble of II, 35; the purple and gold of the tyrant's bed (II, 52) and elsewhere (II, 51; IV, 60), *etc.*

teristic is the picturesqueness, no less than the personal touch, of the opening of Canto III, a type of opening which to readers of Rivas soon becomes familiar :

Viento septentrional, sopla, y gallardo,
Aunque crespes del mar las turbias ondas,
El seno abulta de las lonas pardo,
Sin que la tierra nebulosa escondas...

Sí, ya a mis ojos férvido horizonte,
Entre celajes de risueña grana,
Cumbres azules de lejano monte
Muestra al primer albor de la mañana...

We see then, in *Florinda*, as Cañete, almost alone of Saavedra's commentators has seen ¹, the poet's art, strengthened by nature, deepening and maturing, his outlook growing broader and his inspiration more true. Some critics, who come to it with preconceived ideas, may depreciate its worth ²: Juan Valera's strictures, for instance, are not concerned principally with its absolute qualities, but with the author's achievement as compared with his intention ³.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 33-6, *passim*.

2. Cipriano Rivas y Cherif (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 12) makes one start by his fantastic condemnation of *Florinda* as « farragoso e ilegible en su mayor parte », but the rehearsal of a few more of his downright judgments will show their worth. The *Paso honroso* he dismisses as an « indigesto poema en octavas » (p. 12); *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* is a « comedia endeble y sin interés alguno » (p. 12); the *Moro Expósito* is « farragoso y pesado a trechos » (p. 19), « escrito en endecasílabos asonantados que le cargan de fastidiosa monotonía » (p. 14).

3. They may be summarised in the one sentence : « Tuvo intención el poeta de escribir una epopeya nacional, y le salió una novela trágica de amores. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 137.)

Looking at the poem in its proper perspective and in relation to his future development we shall be able to say with Cañete : « Dicha obra es el punto donde comienzan a confundirse o entrelazarse los antiguos principios que fueron norma del poeta, con las nuevas doctrinas llamadas a regenerarlo. »

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

VI

Other early plays. — *Lanuza* : a topical tragedy — its small permanent value. — *Arias Gonzalo*, and nascent romanticism in drama. — *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* : a Moratinian comedy. — Saavedra's dramatic progression.

We have examined two of Saavedra's earliest dramas in more detail than would be warranted by their intrinsic merit alone, in order to examine in them the nature and quality of his early dramatic writing. The three plays remaining to be dealt with in this chapter, all written before he had progressed very much farther, may be treated more briefly. Two of them, *Lanuza* and *Arias Gonzalo*, were thought so poorly of by their author that he omitted both from the 1854-5 edition of his works; reinstating them in the latest edition, the author's son, himself a literary man, defends them warmly¹. They were at least, it may be allowed, as worthy of inclusion as the third drama, *Tanto vales cuanto tienes*, which has been reprinted in more editions than it merits.

Lanuza, written in 1823, is a topical play from beginning to end, and we have already seen how appropriately it reflected the political situation of its time. It undoubtedly owed the vogue which it enjoyed both in 1823 and 1836²,

1. I, ix, ff.

2. See above, pp. 46-9, 84.

as well as at later times of political stress¹, to the success with which it aroused the political passions of the spectator; it is essentially a play to be seen rather than read. On the stage it produced an effect which disappeared as soon as the applicability of its situations and speeches was forgotten, an effect due not to its constructional merits but to the oratorical powers of the principal actors. To-day, and in years of peace, it would be an utter failure.

On the occasion of one of the revivals of *Lanuza*, the *Revista Española* gave it a not unkind criticism². Praising its « versificación fluida, llena y robusta » and the evidently patriotic intention with which it was written, the writer says of its action : « Se halla perfectamente conducida en los tres primeros actos, decae en el cuarto, y se precipita visiblemente en el quinto, resintiéndose de frialdad y de languidez en el desenlace. » Our quarrel with this judgment would be with the praise of Acts I-III; of these acts the best that can be said is that there are no glaring faults, for there is, on the other hand, decidedly no skill of construction. The preparation in the first scene is as uninteresting as could well be imagined, and there is neither a well-marked climax nor any alternation between the fortunes of the conflicting parties. This, combined with the weak characterisation, is chiefly responsible for the lack of interest which the play arouses.

Its fourth act is no better : the speeches of Lanuza and Lara to the populace have only to be compared with those of Brutus and Antony in *Julius Cæsar* for their weakness to be recognised, and these speeches have neither more nor

1. Rivas, *Obras*, ed. 1854, p. xxviii. Ferrer del Río (*op. cit.*, p. 103) goes so far as to say : « En todos los teatros de provincia, *Lanuza* vino a ser la función de moda. »

2. 1836, p. 644. « A de T. y C. » (Trueba y Cosío?)

less merit than the oratory in the remainder of the play. The catastrophe is arbitrary and most imperfectly prepared. Lanuza's scaffold might have been made ready at any moment in the play, and we know that as soon as it is there the action will end. The reader who observes from the first page that « the action begins at dawn and ends at sunset » waits unmoved for the inevitable conclusion. And when it comes it is commonplace enough in such circumstances. There is no reasonable alternative, for that Vargas should perish and leave Lanuza to marry Elvira is unthinkable. The expert might even predict the offer of life at the expense of the freedom of Aragon and the wrath of Lanuza's reply.

The characterisation is conventional. Lanuza is the personification of youthful patriotism and its allied virtues. He protests too much his love for his country, its ancient charters and sacrosanct laws, for his protestations to do more than weary. As a man, as the hero of a tragedy, he interests us not at all. Heredia and Lara, again, are mere lay figures, set off the one against the other. Vargas, with his prudence and common-sense, contrasts remarkably with Lanuza in his speeches and with Lara in his actions, but Vargas cannot rescue the whole play. Not even Elvira can do that, though in the fifth act the reader at least pities her as she implores her father to procure her lover's freedom. But the scaffold is already erected and the situation has no reality.

HEREDIA

¡Gran Dios! ¡Desventurada!
¿Un cadalso? ¡Qué horror! ¡Ah! No, no ha muerto
Lanuza en el combate. ¡A Dios pluguiera
Muriese en él!

ELVIRA

Al escucharos tiemblo.

We have been waiting for words like these through four and a half acts.

In adapting history to his political requirements, Saavedra completely transformed his sources, and committed anachronisms in spirit as well as in fact. On this we have already briefly commented ¹.

Arias Gonzalo, though written only some four years after *Lanuza*, had the singular experience of never being edited or printed until thirty years after the author's death, when his son included it in the 1894 edition, prefacing to the first volume the following encomium :

Muy superior (a *Lanuza*) es *Arias Gonzalo*, y en nuestro concepto la mejor de las tragedias del Duque ². Escrita en la Isla de Malta, cuando su autor empezaba a sentir el influjo de las nuevas ideas, y ya en la madurez de su talento, nótase en ella más brío, más arranque y más personalidad que en las anteriores. El asunto está bien concebido, y la acción dramática, aunque tal vez poca para cinco actos, encerrada con habilidad dentro de las unidades clásicas, marcha naturalmente a su desenlace, despertando a cada paso creciente interés. No sabemos el efecto que produciría en las tablas (tenemos entendido que no llegó a representarse); pero no es posible leerla, especialmente los dos actos últimos, sin profunda emoción. ¡Qué pasiones tan nobles! ¡Qué lucha de afectos tan bien sentida y tan bien expresada! Y ¡qué soplo de heroísmo y de grandeza medioeval en toda la obra! Los caracteres, particularmente el del protagonista, vigorosamente trazados : la versificación, en general, sobria y robusta ; el estilo, lleno de viveza y de fuerza expresiva ³.

At the end of such an outburst as this, the reader would be insensible indeed whose curiosity was not aroused. The editor, he would remark, can at will be critical enough;

1. See above, pp. 46 ff.

2. It is to be supposed that *Don Alvaro* is excepted as being a « drama » and not a « tragedy ».

3. I, p. xi.

and, even if the appeal of the play be due in part to Saavedra's good fortune (or skill) in finding a theme in which the primal emotions are aroused, and considerable effects produced by a small outlay of dramatic ability, it must at least have qualities of characterisation above the normal. So the reader of these lines would subscribe whole-heartedly to the son's criticism of his father :

No acertamos a comprender por qué su autor trató esta obra con tanto desdén, y cómo ha yacido hasta aquí ignorada, pudiendo, en su género, figurar con honor entre las mejores del Duque de Rivas ¹.

But, after studying the drama, this same reader might well decide that its author was right after all; and, without placing *Arias Gonzalo* lower than some plays which have been included in later editions, conclude that Cañete was nearer the truth than the editor of 1894 when he summed it up, temperately and bluntly, as « estimable pero desigual ² ».

For to ourselves *Arias Gonzalo* has little more real interest than *Lanuza*, and, in the author's day, not being a political play, it could hardly have had so much. The love of young Gonzalo Arias for the *infanta* D^a Urraca, the playmate of his childhood, does not strike us as meriting the oratory which it calls forth. The *infanta* herself is a tragedy queen with but artificial attractions; Arias Gonzalo, whose sway over her is a little clumsily shown in Act III, is a worthy, but unattractive old man. And, apart from his youngest son, there are no other characters with even a pretence of individuality. This son has indeed some small interest to offer; we shall return to him very shortly.

An obvious defect in the play is the division of interest between the personality of Arias Gonzalo and the loves of

1. I, p. xi.

2. Cañete, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Gonzalo and D' Urraca. The natural proceeding, one would have thought, would be to make the latter frankly the centre of the play, and name it Gonzalo Arias. Instead, we find old Arias' personality continually forced upon us, and that intensively, throughout the play. Even at the end, when the consummation of the tragedy holds the spectators, the tedious old man is brought forward and made to emphasise quite another aspect of it — real enough, of course, but dramatically inartistic. Let us look at the ending as it stands :

GOMEZ

(Ayudando a Arias a sostener el cadáver.)

¡Cielo Santo!

¡Funesto día!

(Larga pausa.)

ARIAS

Libre está Zamora.

Mas ¡ay, cuánto le cuesta a Arias Gonzalo!

The chief interest of the play to the student will undoubtedly be in the few though distinct enough signs which it gives of a break with classicism, and in its premonitions of the author's *chefs-d'œuvre*. It is described by Cañete as a « classical tragedy », but it has in reality hardly one of the distinctive marks of that type of play. We must except its adherence to the unities, which lands the author in as many improbabilities as is usual when a dramatist tries to cage a play full of action behind the bars of the « rules ». Apart from this, the drama has little form of any kind. It is replete with incident; events are introduced at any moment without regard to regular progression of plot. The murder of D. Sancho, which sets the plot, properly so called, in motion, is not reported till Act III. Before this happens, we

have no idea of how the play will proceed. Again, in the fifth act, three duels (all between noon and night) are related, and in the same act we hear of the victory of Gonzalo and witness his death on the stage. All this, together with the exaggerated language, and violent antitheses of character and situation in the play, is infinitely more suggestive of romantic drama than of classical tragedy.

Nor can any reason for calling the play a tragedy, in any accepted classical sense, be found : several people, including not the hero but one who should have been made the hero, are killed — the latter on the stage at the end of the play. This suggests the loose thinking of the minor romantics rather than the strictness of pseudo-classicism. So, if the play is neither purely classical nor purely romantic (as all would agree) it seems to be looking forward, and not behind.

Further — and this provides the chief interest, other than historical, of the drama — we have in Gonzalo something like a real, human character, and distinct suggestions of the Romantic hero. His starts and surprises, his sudden confusions, his fervid declarations of love, obedience or loyalty may be exaggerated, but they have none of the artificiality of the Infanta's orations. As for his likeness to the Romantic type, we need only recall his combination of the valour, melancholy and recklessness of a Don Alvaro :

INFANTA

Desque nació esta guerra, valeroso
Me sirves, es verdad, con alto esfuerzo.
Mas crece, al par, tu atroz melancolía;
Y con disgusto, pesarosa advierto
Que buscas y te arrojas al peligro,
Como impulsado de feroz despecho .

I. II, IV.

Or to hear him inveigh against his luckless fate and his cruel Destiny ¹ :

Huir de lo que adoro es mi destino,
Y mi pasión ahogar en el silencio ².

Pero... nació infeliz. ¿Por qué el destino
No hace igual el poder al pensamiento ³?

Without wishing to prejudice the conclusions of a later chapter we must stop here to remark upon some striking anticipations of Saavedra's two later masterpieces. The lines just cited may recall to some certain lines in *Don Alvaro* : how much more will Gonzalo's bold declaration that he is seeking death :

Y huye de mí la muerte, porque niegan
Todo descanso a mi penar los cielos

Dejadme ir a buscar la ansiada muerte ⁴...

or the Infanta's soliloquy :

¡Injustos astros!.....

Gonzalo viva,
Viva, y perezca el universo ⁵...

and the final scene, where, as Gonzalo dies with the cry

¡No me olvidéis jamás!

1. Though we must not forget the constant use of this theme by Saavedra. See pp. 383 ff., below.

2. II, i.

3. II, iv.

4. II, iv.

5. V, v.

the Infanta falls swooning into her ladies' arms, crying :

¡Abrete, oh tierra :
Confúndeme en tu seno ¹!

We shall have occasion shortly to quote Don Alvaro's last cry :

Infierno, abre tu boca y trágame. Húndase el cielo, perezca la raza humana; exterminio, destrucción ²...

The similarities of situation between *Arias Gonzalo* and *Don Alvaro* are few, apart from probably chance traits such as the deaths in single combat of two brothers bent on avenging a third person's violent end. But readers of the *Moro Expósito* may well recognise in Arias the father a less sympathetic Lara, and in Gonzalo, his youngest son, the youngest and best loved of Lara's seven sons, — bearing, as it chances, the same name. Hear him when the two are together :

Tú, prenda de mi amor y mi ternura,
Tú el menor de mis hijos, que el consuelo
Debieras ser de mis cansados años,
Huyes de mí también ³.

Or, again, when his two sons are killed and the third is fighting for his life and his loved mistress :

Id, y dejad a un infelice viejo,
Que esforzarse y luchar pretende, en vano,
Con el dolor que le destroza el alma,
Con el rigor del cielo despiadado.
Id, sí, dejadme solo, y vuestro esfuerzo,
Esfuerzo en el que manda necesario,
No enerven ¡ay! de un padre los gemidos

1. V, x.

2. *Don Alvaro*, V, xi.

3. II, ii.

Y de un mísero viejo el débil llanto.
Rinda a naturaleza su tributo ¹...

These may be coincidences, or sub-conscious imitations : they can hardly be more. But at least in *Arias Gonzalo* we are nearer both to Romanticism and to its first two *chefs-d'œuvre* in Spain than we are, on any reckoning, in *Lanuza*.

In *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* ², on the other hand, we are leagues distant from both. It is curious how, in spite of much adverse criticism, this comedy has found a place successively in each of the collected editions of Rivas' works. In the latest edition, ironically enough, it is given the distinction of sharing a volume with *Don Alvaro*. We must refrain from commenting on the juxtaposition, which, indeed, is of itself sufficiently startling. For *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* is a farcical comedy, unduly long, and at times rather heavy, something in the style of the Moratinian play. We are inclined to think, in spite of Cañete's assertion that the comedy has less of the rigidity of a Moratín than of the spirit of a Bretón de los Herreros ³, that Saavedra set out as a pastime deliberately to imitate Moratín's methods, and that he was satisfied and pleased with the result.

The problem which forms the theme of the play is the almost invariable subject of Moratín's comedies : a heroine, young and attractive, in love with a young and attractive hero, but about to be given in marriage to an old and wealthy suitor. It is a sufficiently trite story and the *dénouement* is foreseen from the beginning; hence any attraction which a play built upon it is to have must come from elsewhere. In

1. V, VIII.

2. Juan Valera's paragraphs (*Obras*, XXVII, pp. 167-9) on this play are worthy of notice for their independent and (as it seems to us) accurate judgment.

3. Cañete, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Tanto vales cuanto tienes, the unity of action prevents any interest coming from a secondary plot, the unity of place cramps the argument, and strict adherence to the unity of time causes the plot to develop with the most unnatural rapidity. Nor is the development of the plot its only unnatural feature. That D. Blas, the rich relative, from Lima, should have heard of his sister's intentions in Cádiz is felt to be inartistic, the more so when conveyed in soliloquy at the end of the second act. The intervention of the gambler cousin D. Miguel in the third act seems to add nothing of worth to the argument, and the relations between D. Blas and D. Juan, disclosed very late in the play, are not properly prepared.

Any attractions which the comedy may have arise from its situations. The principal characters are commonplace. D^a Rufina is a thought too exaggerated to be acceptable even in farce; without being always amusing, she is shameless to the point of absurdity. The burlesque in Act I, on the other hand, is agreeable in the extreme; and the amusement caused by D^a Rufina's adventures with the furniture-dealer, and even more by her encounter with the usurer D. Simeón, is repeated and intensified in the following act. For here, by a device not uncommon in broad comedy, these farcical characters are brought on the scene once more, so soon as the *indiano* has been housed in his room for repose, the one to demand his money, the other his furniture, with equal fury. The best thing in the play is probably the way in which D. Simeón plays the part of a « Christian ». In their context, traits like these are irresistible, though when extracted and served up in cold print they lose their force and may even seem over-strong for comedy :

D. ALBERTO

Aquí hay papel y tintero.

(*llevando a don Simeón a una mesa.*)

D. SIMEÓN

¿Y esta silla?

(*reconociendo la silla que está inmediata.*)

D. MIGUEL

No hay temor.

D. SIMEÓN

(*Se sienta, y al tomar la pluma exclama.*)

¡Cristo del mayor dolor,
Recomiéndooos mi dinero!

Far other than this, nevertheless, was the satire which Saavedra was even now preparing for good churchmen in the *Moro Expósito*!

With these three curiously unlike and unequal plays we may be said to have passed Saavedra's second stage of dramatic evolution. We have seen him clinging closely to his models, — even translating them — in *Malék-Adhél*; now we have him textually freer, yet hardly shaking from his genius the bonds of convention in any other respect. Was he to find complete freedom in France, where he shortly after this went and wrote *Don Alvaro*, or was he already free in spirit when he left Malta? And once the fetters are shaken off, what has the future in store for the intrepid protagonist of Romanticism in Spanish drama? These are questions which in later chapters we shall attempt to answer. For the present we have to follow our dramatist into fresh woods and pastures new.

CHAPTER III

El Moro Expósito.

I

General characteristics. — Its uniqueness in Spanish literature. — Its prologue compared with the theories and practice of French Romanticism. — Is the *Moro Expósito* Romantic? — An early view : it represents a distinctively Spanish type of Romanticism.

There is something peculiarly fascinating to the critic in seeking to label a literary product which eludes his efforts, a fact which probably accounts for the unsuitability of many of the labels attached to men and books. The *Moro Expósito* has had the good fortune to lose most of the tags which have at various times been fastened to it. In truth, it is extraordinarily difficult to determine the class of work — one might almost say the *genre* — to which that poem belongs. It is sometimes said to have been inspired by the verse-narratives of Scott, and, though it is much longer than any of these and is written in a less brisk and active measure, this is perhaps the nearest analogy that can be found to it ¹.

1. So Piñeyro thought, and called it « una leyenda novelesca, una novela en verso del género de las de Scott, pero de mucho mayor extensión » (*op. cit.*, p. 67). Menéndez Pidal (*La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, p. 163) says too : « Tiene más de leyenda novelesca

It is planned on an altogether larger scale than the *romance* and the *leyenda* : it is indeed a collection of *romances* ¹, though each, far from being self-contained, is but a chapter in a larger whole. But it has, quite apart from this, little in common with the *romance*, which in general is more loosely built, carelessly told, and less purely literary in character. The numerous digressions, the unity of plan, the basis of reality and the size of the poem, suggest the epic : Cañete, in fact, has called it a *leyenda épica* ² and Valera said of the Duke — a somewhat daring judgment : — « Hizo en *El Moro Expósito* el más homérico de todos nuestros poemas, y acertó, tratando asunto de tan remotas edades, a poner en él aquel naturalismo sano y sincero, primera e imprescindible calidad de toda poesía excelente ³. »

On the other hand, though some may see in it similarities with the literary epic, the total effect it produces is certainly not epical. If its well-told central story, its semi-episodical digressions, its passionate reality are links between it and that *genre*, there is an artificiality of style which combats

que de poema épico; la acción no avanza hacia su fin por el camino derecho, sino que procura envolverse en rodeos misteriosos, atenta a despertar el interés; la narración desaparece frecuentemente para dejar lugar a largas pinturas de tipos, caracteres o paisajes, para hacer el análisis de los pensamientos y afectos, para intercalar reflexiones de toda clase, o para dirigir el poeta la palabra a sus amigos de Malta. »

1. So the sub-title runs : « Leyenda en doce romances. »

2. « Término medio entre la epopeya y la novela » is Cañete's first description of the poem. Then, after pointing out the characteristics which separate it from the epic he adds : « Y como no es tampoco una mera novela poética al modo de *El Lord de las Islas* y de *La Dama del Lago* de Walter Scott u otras semejantes, digan lo que quieran ciertos críticos, tal vez no sea impropio calificarlo de *leyenda épica*. » (*Op. cit.*, pp. 45-7.)

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

continually with reality of sentiment, and there is a notable absence of epic machinery which might easily have been worked into the plot. But more than this, the total effect upon the reader is not that of an epic : it falls short by a lack of solemnity, simplicity and grandeur which authentic epics like the *Cid*, *Roland* and *Beowulf* share with the few poems to which the term literary epic can with any justice be applied.

All critics agree among themselves, and with Alcalá Galiano¹, on one point at least, — that the *Moro Expósito* was unique in Spanish literature when it appeared — and many add that it was this, and not *Don Alvaro*, which initiated Spanish Romanticism². Alcalá Galiano, in his authoritative preface to the poem, said, as Victor Hugo himself had said in effect ten years earlier³ : « No ha pretendido (el autor) hacerlo *clásico* ni *romántico*, divisiones arbitrarias en cuya existencia no cree », but also, with great emphasis :

1. « Un género nuevo en la poesía castellana... » begins the preface.

2. « No tiene precedentes ni se parece tampoco a nada posterior de nuestra literatura. » (Juan Valera, *op. cit.*, p. 162.)

« Fué además la primera y gran victoria obtenida en nuestro suelo por el romanticismo. » (Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 161.)

« Este poema, sin precedentes en nuestra literatura, único de su clase hasta hoy día en el parnaso castellano, fué por decirlo así la bandera de nuestra revolución literaria, el primero que abrió campo a la regeneración de la poética nacional. » (Cañete, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-5.)

« Obra de esta clase no tenía modelo en nuestra literatura. » « Donde más resueltamente alzó (Rivas) la bandera de la literatura... fué en *El Moro Expósito*. » Pastor Diaz in *biog. cit.*, pp. 62, 63. Cf. Blanco García, *op. cit.*, I, 138.

3. Preface to *Nouvelles Odes*, 1824 : « [L'auteur] répudie tous ces termes de convention que les partis se rejettent réciproquement.... Pour lui, il ignore profondément ce que c'est que le *genre classique* et que le *genre romantique*. »

Lo que sí le es lícito afirmar es que ha indicado una senda hasta ahora no hollada por sus compatriotas, y que se ha aventurado a caminar por ella con audacia, ya que no sea con buena fortuna.

Since this track was that of Romanticism it mattered little whether Rivas called his poem « romantic » or not. Romantic it was; Romantic, as will be seen, were the principles of the introduction; and particularly Romantic were the characteristics which, through the mouth of Alcalá Galiano, Rivas assigned to his poem, or at least declared that he had endeavoured to give it. It was, properly speaking, with *El Moro Expósito* that Romanticism in Spain definitely declared itself. The poem aroused none of the opposition caused later by *Don Alvaro*, though it had nevertheless most, if not all, of its characteristic traits. It dealt with a familiar legend; it presented its subject in the familiar form of the *romance*; and it did not appear on the traditional literary battlefield — the stage. Hence it escaped serious criticism, but it was no less itself for that.

It marked Rivas out as the champion of Spanish Romanticism. It enabled Gil y Carrasco to say of him seven years later :

Hace tiempo que su huella ha quedado profundamente grabada en el campo de nuestra regeneración poética, cuyo primer adalid es ¹.

and Charles de Mazade in 1846 :

Le duc de Rivas appartient donc tout entier à la rénovation littéraire espagnole; il en a été le brillant promoteur... Il a été l'un des premiers à vouloir créer un art qui exprimât fidèlement la civilisation nouvelle de la Péninsule .

1. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 147. .

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 326.

The characteristics of the *Moro Expósito*, according to Alcalá Galiano's prologue¹, are very briefly these :

1. The subject is taken from Spain and the Middle Ages.
2. The versification is unusual, effective and essentially Spanish.

3. The author has consulted many sources to get authentic local colour.

4. He has not employed classical allusions.

5. His style is an admixture of lofty and mean, even of the sublime and the ridiculous : for he has endeavoured to « follow Nature ».

6. In short the poem is not bound by « certain rules which learned critics have repeatedly condemned and which are disregarded by the best contemporary poets in Europe ».

7. In their place the author has followed other rules, viz : (a) to interest his readers in his story and characters; (b) to suit his style to his argument; (c) to adapt it to the persons speaking; (d) to give his pictures the form and colour of his conception; (e) to describe what has really happened, or might happen; (f) to represent customs historically accurate; (g) to preserve a measure of realism even in painting the ideal; (h) to express himself clearly and correctly, and at times with elegance; (j) to « versify as well as he may »; (k) to follow his own impulses and obey the inspirations of his own mind.

It will perhaps be instructive to place beside these assertions some characteristic passages from the French Romanticists, to show how truly Romantic in spirit the *Moro Expósito* was.

1. Gil y Carrasco (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 150) dwells on the maturity of the prologue. « Tal sanidad en las doctrinas », he truly remarks, « tal agudeza en el criterio, tal templanza en las tendencias y tan profunda y transcendental filosofía puede decirse que era la vez primera que se veían empleadas en lengua castellana. »

The Moro Expósito.

1. Ha elegido un asunto de la historia de España y de los siglos medios, campo fertilísimo y hasta el día muy descuidado por nuestros poetas, a excepción de algunos dramáticos.

2. Ha adoptado una versificación rara o ninguna vez usada en obras largas, pero fácil y juntamente susceptible de elegancia y pompa.

The French Romantics.

La littérature romantique est la seule qui soit susceptible encore d'être perfectionnée, parce qu'ayant ses racines dans notre propre sol, elle est la seule qui puisse croître et se vivifier de nouveau; elle exprime notre religion; elle rappelle notre histoire; son origine est ancienne, mais non antique. (Mme de Staël : *De l'Allemagne*. 1810, II, XI and *passim*.)

J'aimerais à voir, je l'avoue, sur la scène française, la mort du duc de Guise à Blois, ou Jeanne d'Arc et les Anglais, ou l'assassinat du pont de Montereau; ces grands et funestes tableaux, extraits de nos annales, feraient vibrer une corde sensible dans tous les cœurs français, et, suivant les romantiques, les intéresseraient plus que les malheurs d'Edipe. (Stendhal : *Racine et Shakespeare*, 1824.)

Cf. Victor Hugo's famous reference (Preface to *Nouvelles Odes*, 1824) to the first poets of France : « Des prêtres chantant les grandes choses de leur religion et de leur patrie. »

Cf. Vigny's « Lettre à Lord... », Preface to *Le More de Venise* : Cette harmonie qu'on cherchait est faite, je pense, pour le poème et non pour le drame... Un drame

ne présentera jamais au peuple que des personnages réunis pour parler de leurs affaires; ils doivent donc parler. Que l'on fasse pour eux ce *récitatif* simple et franc dont Molière est le plus beau modèle dans notre langue; lorsque la passion et le malheur viendront animer leur cœur, élever leurs pensées, que le vers s'élève un moment jusqu'à ces mouvements sublimes..., etc.

3. Ha procurado dar a su composición el colorido que le conviene, consultando para ello las escasísimas memorias aun existentes de los tiempos en que pasaron los hechos que refiere.

Ce n'est point à la surface du drame que doit être la couleur locale, mais au fond, dans le cœur même de l'œuvre, d'où elle se répand au dehors (*Préface de Cromwell*). A ceux qui lui reprochent d'avoir exagéré les crimes de Lucrece Borgia il [l'auteur] dirait : « Lisez Tomasi, lisez Guicciardini, lisez surtout le *Diarium*. » (Preface to *Lucrece Borgia*, 1833.)

4. De intento se ha desviado... de toda alusión a la mitología de la clásica antigüedad.

Il a fallu que le christianisme vint chasser ce peuple de Faunes, de Satyres et de Nymphes, pour rendre aux grottes leur silence et aux bois leur rêverie, etc. (Chateaubriand : *Génie du Christianisme*, II, v, 1.)

... En substituant aux couleurs usées et fausses de la mythologie païenne les couleurs neuves et vraies de la théogonie chrétienne. (Preface to the *Odes* of 1822.)

Cf. Victor Hugo's diatribe against the classicists who have

« worshipped pagan gods » (Preface to *Nouvelles Odes*, 1824) and the opening paragraphs of the *Préface de Cromwell*.

5. Ha mezclado, si es lícito decirlo así, las burlas con las veras, o sea retazos de apariencia pobre con otros de textura brillante, páginas de estilo elevado con otras en estilo llano, imágenes triviales con otras nobles, y pinturas de la vida real con otras ideales. Tal vez con ello escandalizará a no pocos de sus lectores; pero no es culpa suya que en la Naturaleza anden revueltos lo serio y tierno con lo ridículo y extravagante, y él quiere tener a la Naturaleza por guía y describir las cosas como pasan, pues así probablemente pasaron las que son materia de su narración.

6. En suma, la siguiente composición no está sujeta a reglas; hablo de ciertas reglas por doctos críticos repetidas veces condenadas, y desatendidas por los mejores poetas contemporáneos en toda Europa.

Tout dans la création n'est pas humainement beau... le laid y existe à côté du beau, le difforme près du gracieux, le grotesque au revers du sublime, le mal avec le bien, l'ombre avec la lumière... [La muse moderne] se mettra à faire comme la nature, à mêler dans ses créations, sans pourtant les confondre, l'ombre à la lumière, le grotesque au sublime, en d'autres termes, le corps à l'âme, la bête à l'esprit. (Cf. the paragraph : « Que si nous avons le droit... de la prose. ») (*Préface de Cromwell*.)

La prétendue règle des deux unités..... Des contemporains distingués, étrangers et nationaux, ont déjà attaqué, et par la pratique et par la théorie, cette loi fondamentale du code pseudo-aristotélique. (*Préface de Cromwell*.)

Je ne cesse de m'étonner qu'il y ait eu des hommes qui aient pu croire de bonne foi durant un jour entier à la durée des règles qu'ils écrivaient. (Vigny : *Préface de Chatterton*.)

7. Algunas [reglas] ha seguido, y he aquí cuáles:

(a) Ha tratado de empeñar los afectos y curiosidad de los lectores en su narración y a favor de sus personajes;

(b) De acomodar su estilo a su argumento, en el total y en cada una de las partes;

(c) De adaptarlo a las personas por cuya boca habla;

(d) De dibujar y colorir sus cuadros como los concibe;

(e) De describir objetos que son, o fueron, o pueden ser reales y verdaderos;

(f) De representar costumbres históricas;

(g) De conservar, siempre que se arroja a lo *ideal*, las *facciones naturales*, que dan a las cosas imaginarias apariencia de ciertas por su semejanza con las realidades;

Chez lui [Molière] le vers embrasse l'idée, s'y incorpore étroitement, la resserre et la développe tout à la fois.

Le vers est la forme optique de la pensée. (*Préface de Cromwell.*)

Nous voudrions un vers... se cachant toujours derrière le personnage. (*Préface de Cromwell.*)

Que le personnage parle comme il doit parler; *sibi constet*, dit Horace. Tout est là. (*Préface de Ruy Blas*, 1838.)

[See (3) above.]

La nature donc! La nature et la vérité!... (*Préface de Cromwell.*) Le poète ne doit avoir qu'un modèle, la nature; qu'un guide, la vérité. (*Preface to Odes et Ballades*, 1826.)

[See (3) above.]

Tout s'enchaîne et se déduit ainsi que dans la réalité. (*Préface de Cromwell.*) C'était cette réalité de la parole et des gestes qui [faisait] des acteurs, des créatures de Dieu, avec leurs

vertus, leurs passions, leurs faiblesses, et non pas des héros guindés, impassibles, déclamateurs et sentencieux. (Dumas père : *Comment je devins auteur dramatique*, 1833.)

(h) De expresarse con claridad, y, cuanto le es dado, con pureza, a veces con elegancia y gala, y siempre con corrección;

Nous voudrions un vers libre, franc, loyal, osant... tout exprimer sans recherche. (*Préface de Cromwell*.)

(j) De versificar lo mejor que puede;

[Contrast here the preoccupation of the French Romantics with the technique of their verse, and (2) above.]

(k) Por último, de seguir los impulsos propios, de obedecer a las inspiraciones espontáneas y de hacer, no lo que han hecho, sino del modo que lo han hecho los célebres ingenios extranjeros de la edad presente, tan rica en crítica sana y propia de una generación filosófica en sus atrevimientos.

Il n'y a ni maître ni école en poésie; le seul maître, c'est celui qui daigne faire descendre dans l'homme l'émotion féconde, et faire sortir les idées de nos fronts, qui en sont brisés quelquefois. (Vigny : *Préface de Chatterton*, 1834.)

Un imitateur de Shakespeare serait aussi faux dans notre temps que le sont les imitateurs d'*Athalie*. (Vigny : *Lettre à Lord ****, 1829.)

Que le poète donc aille où il veut, en faisant ce qui lui plaît; c'est la loi. Le poète est libre. (Preface to *Les Orientales*.)

Que le poète se garde de copier qui que ce soit, pas plus Shakespeare que Molière, pas plus Schiller que Corneille... etc. (*Préface de Cromwell*.)

The earliest critics of the poem, however, bore out on the whole the assertion of the preface that it was neither Classical nor Romantic. « Es preciso convenir », said the *Revista Española* (May 23 1834) « en que esta no es una composición esencialmente romántica. » It breaks a number of the rules imposed by what Classicism styles « good taste »; but it lacks certain specifically Romantic traits : « el sesgo metafísico, los conceptos nebulosos y las pinturas fantásticas de los que marchan por la senda del romanticismo exclusivo ¹ ». « No habiendo en su poema », continues the same writer on the following day, « ninguna de las creaciones estrafalarias, seámos lícito decirlo así, de las imaginaciones fantástico-románticas, ninguno de aquellos héroes sin verdad, escondidos siempre en misterios inexplicables y envueltos en una atmósfera nebulosa, se querrá deducir acaso que la obra del Sr. Saavedra pertenece al clasicismo ». But this solution is impossible : « los rígidos sectarios de Horacio y Boileau la repudiarán casi en la totalidad, calificándola de bastarda y monstruosa ». The position which the writer reaches is as important for the history of Spanish Romanticism as for that of the *Moro Expósito* : the poem cannot be Romantic because it has none of the exaggerations which have been associated with Romanticism in the past, and it is evidently not classical, — what is it, then? The conclusion reached is the very reasonable one that it marks a new and national type of Romanticism. « Creemos que el autor no es un reflejo exacto de los románticos ingleses, alemanes ni franceses; pero pensamos sí que naturaliza el género, en cuanto el influjo de sus buenos estudios primitivos se lo permite, dándole una fisonomía española ². »

1. This and the remaining quotations from the article in question are taken from its second instalment (May 24 1834).

2. For a full account of the two instalments of this important ano-

The critic spoke perhaps more truly than he knew : such was almost exactly the case.

nymous article the student is referred to *Studies in Philology*, July 1922, pp. 308-16. The passage from which the above extract is taken, however, is of such significance that it must be reproduced as it stands. It is not given in full in the article in question :

Nosotros, que somos tan amantes de la independencia en política como en literatura, no nos asociaremos a tan tiránica desaprobación. Creemos que el autor no es un reflejo exacto de los románticos ingleses, alemanes ni franceses; pero pensamos sí que naturaliza el género, en cuanto el influjo de sus buenos estudios primitivos se lo permite, dándole una fisonomía española. Repetimos lo que manifestamos en nuestro primer artículo, y es que el romanticismo varía según los pueblos y según sus diferentes circunstancias. Una cosa que nos inclinaría a presumir que el clasicismo es de una belleza hasta cierto punto puramente convencional, es que en todas las edades y en todos los países tiene el mismo aire de familia y una monotonía cosmopolita. Píndaro, Horacio, Tibulo, Ovidio, Anacreonte, Sofocles, Eurípides y Virgilio, tienen grande semejanza con Juan Bautista Rousseau, con Corneille, con Racine, con el Tasso, con Herrera, con Fr. Luis de León, con Meléndez y con otros infinitos que podríamos citar. No puede hallarse la misma analogía entre los románticos de una justa celebridad. El romanticismo se resiente bastantes veces de influencias físicas y materiales : mas de un materialismo adornado y enriquecido con las concepciones del entusiasmo creador. Ossian tiene toda la grandeza fantástica a que se presta un clima de oscuridad y de tinieblas; el poeta puede suponer a su albedrío genios y accidentes caprichosos entre las nubes donde se pierden los sonidos de su harpa mágica : la credulidad puede darlos fe, y la razón aprueba lo que conmueve el corazón. ¿Como podía el Sr. Saavedra aplicar estos colores descriptivos de aquellas localidades a la tierra de la luz, del sol en todo su esplendor, a la risueña y rica Andalucía? ¿Qué vestiglos ha de describir en un cielo rara vez empañado con leves celajes, en una atmósfera pura y sin vapores, en un suelo cubierto de flores, en unos ríos donde se retrata el azul de la bóveda divina que los cubre? ¿Qué pasiones de metafísica exaltación ha de pintar, donde los efectos son hijos de corazones meridionales, es decir, de sensaciones fuertes y positivas, y no de impresiones mezcladas con un idealismo tan vago como indefinible? ¿Como ha de hallar recursos su fantasía, donde la

unidad religiosa excluye las visiones que nacen de creencias poco seguras, multiplicadas y supersticiosas? Así es que el Sr. de Saavedra nunca se acerca más al colorido romántico que cuando halla ocasión de sacar partido de los movimientos de la superstición, como sucede en el momento en que Rui Velázquez al combatir con Mudarra cree ver ante sus ojos los espectros de los siete infantes de Lara, de cuyo horrible asesinato había sido causa.

II

Argument and construction. — Merits and defects of the construction. — The final scene and its explanation. — The use of antithesis and contrast.

A clear impression of the argument of the *Moro Expósito* is an essential basis for any adequate discussion of its construction. A short analysis, canto by canto, of the plot is therefore given below.

Canto I (pp. 1-40). Zahira, sister of Almanzor, premier to the Caliph of Córdoba, has recently died. A young foundling whom she has brought up and had educated by the great Zaide, has reached the age of nineteen. He is passionately in love with Kerima, daughter of Giafar, a former premier. The latter spurns him, — in spite of the fact that Almanzor reveals his name (Mudarra), — on account of his unknown origin. Almanzor's son is being married, and in the six days' festival which marks the event Mudarra distinguishes himself in the lists, and wins the prize, which Kerima presents to him at Almanzor's request, and to Giafar's great chagrin.

Canto II (pp. 47-89). The history of Giafar : his earlier fall from the premiership. Kerima is the daughter of a woman whom Giafar stole from her Mozarabic father, and

who died in giving birth to her. Description of Kerima. In spite of opposition she returns Mudarra's love on realising his noble nature, and the two plight their troth at Zahira's grave. Giafar determines to marry Kerima to another; he traps Mudarra into an ambush, but the latter slays him without knowing his identity.

Canto III (pp. 95-132). When Mudarra tells Zaide what has happened, the old man reveals to him the story of his birth : he is the son of Zahira and Lara, a brave Christian knight, who had at an earlier date vanquished him (Zaide) in battle, and treated him with the greatest courtesy.

Canto IV (pp. 141-175). Rui-Velázquez, Lara's wicked brother-in-law and Premier of Castile, has Lara sent on a mission to Córdoba. He falls into the power of Giafar, whom also he had vanquished in battle in the past. Giafar takes the terrible revenge of murdering Lara's seven sons and displaying to him their heads. But (says Zaide) Mudarra was born to Lara and Zahira, and he must avenge his father. This Mudarra resolves to do at once, and sets off for Castilla.

Canto V (pp. 177-218). Meanwhile Giafar's dead body has been found. Mudarra writes a letter of confession and farewell to Kerima, who is heartbroken by the double grief.

Canto VI (pp. 221-275). Introduction : Córdoba and Burgos. Description of Lara's palace. Return of Lara, old and blind, after twenty years' imprisonment, — the work of Rui-Velázquez. He is accompanied by his faithful friend Nuño. Lara tells of his imprisonment and Nuño of his travels in Egypt and Palestine and his return home and rescue of Lara on the death of the Count of Castile.

Canto VII (pp. 277-320). Mudarra, with Zaide, arrives at the palace, and meets his father. The new Count and Rui-

Velázquez arrive at the same time. Mudarra challenges Rui-Velázquez to fight him to the death. Rui-Velázquez refuses on the grounds of Mudarra's origin. The Count agrees that the boy shall be legitimized, and the duel is then fixed for a month from the date.

Canto VIII (pp. 323-375). Mudarra's legitimization. He visits the mother of his companion-servant Vasco; she had nursed Gonzalo, the youngest of Lara's seven sons; old and enfeebled, she takes him for Gonzalo. During the month, various attempts are made on Mudarra's life by agents of Rui-Velázquez.

Canto IX (pp. 377-427). The history of Rui-Velázquez. (His wife's unfaithfulness; the loss of his son; his thwarted wish to re-marry. He is warned by an astrologer of Almanzor's scimitar and of fighting before a young Moorish girl. His wife dies.) His terror at the thought of the combat. He considers plans for escaping it.

Canto X (pp. 429-479). Rui-Velázquez' attempts to bribe the Almighty. A hermit bids him confess his sins and make reparation to those he has wronged. Rui-Velázquez goes away in fury to a wealthy Abbot where he is given assurance of victory on condition of making large gifts to the Abbey.

Canto XI (pp. 481-507). Preparations for the conflict. Rui-Velázquez' delay. The fight begins. Rui-Velázquez is winning when he is startled by the cries of Gonzalo's old nurse who rises from among the spectators. Mudarra gains the advantage and cuts off Rui-Velázquez' head with Almanzor's scimitar. Kerima's appearance.

Canto XII (pp. 509-541). Mudarra's grave illness. The appearance of Kerima's grandfather Egidio, who tells his story. Departure of Zaide, Mudarra and Kerima make

preparation for baptism. They are duly baptized, and are about to be married, when Kerima declares at the altar that she will become the Bride of Christ, for she cannot marry her father's murderer.

A study of this analysis will show that the main story has three well-marked divisions. The first of these has its climax in the death of Giafar, and its interest culminates in the following declaration of Mudarra's parentage by Zaide. Up to this point Mudarra has been a shadowy, if a well-meaning and melancholy young Romantic hero : with the disclosure of his identity and his resolve to avenge his brothers he appears in quite a new light, and the whole story stands out in clearer focus. We understand now the lines which it is going to follow; we realise who is the hero, what is the problem, and how, if at all, the solution will be reached. Before this, we could but guess at the shadows which with the dramatic murder of Giafar and Zaide's no less dramatic story suddenly flash out clearly before us. This first division, then, in some degree corresponds to the « preparation » of a drama.

The second division ends with Canto VII. It sees the escape of Lara and the journey of Mudarra; it brings father and son together and face to face with them the villainous Rui-Velázquez; and finally it announces the conflict which in a month's time is to carry the narrative to its end. Had Mudarra had no duty to his father — had Rui Velázquez been disposed of by fate or another's sword — the poem would have ended with this canto. It has, indeed, to a certain point, all the appearance of the *dénouement* of a tragi-comedy, where father and son are restored, friends long parted meet again, wrongs are righted, quarrels healed and all the characters crowd on to the stage and prepare to live happily ever after. But in the present story the reader

knows at once that the problem can never be solved by a friendly reunion. Mudarra has declared war to the death before ever he meets Rui-Velázquez. And therefore the meeting with his father, which otherwise might have closed the story, is only an affecting but unimportant incident in the greater drama which is slowly being unrolled before us. One part of the plot is accomplished, but the principal part has yet to be begun. The point of departure is in this scene.

Hence there is no fault of construction in what may seem a curious fact — that there is hardly any action in this second clearly-marked division of the story. The conclusion of Zaide's revelations, the resolution, farewells and departure of Mudarra, the final appearance (before the duel) of Kerima, and the return of Lara and Nuño to Salas, fill the intervening space. In other words this second part of the story consists in the setting of the stage for the second great situation : we shall have occasion to note, in studying Rivas' later dramas, that his special genius is for great situations — striking *tableaux* ¹ — rather than for carefully and closely constructing a plot.

The third division culminates in the conflict, and the whole of the intervening action consists in preparation for that conflict. This preparation is perhaps too elaborate, but its effectiveness cannot be denied. The early part of Canto VIII, like the fourth act of a tragedy, is inclined to lack life and interest. The legitimization ceremony might well have been omitted, and much of the rambling narrative concerning Vasco Pérez. But once we come to Rui-Velázquez' efforts to avoid the contest, attention is riveted on the issue. The vividly related story of the poisoned dog, the amusingly

1. Cañete (*op. cit.*, p. 46) goes so far as to censure the « falta de concentración de los fundamentos del poema » and the « excesiva independencia de algunos cuadros secundarios ».

contrasted visits of the villain to the hermit and the abbot; his panic on the journey; the vision of Lara's sons — all these have both self-centred and continuous interest, and concern one or other of the two principal characters of the story. When we come to the contest itself, we notice at once an element of unusual skill in its treatment. It is common enough to make the villain triumph in appearance at the outset in order to enhance the effect of the hero's final victory. That we should almost expect. But Rivas goes farther : since the issue cannot be in doubt once the battle begins, he deliberately delays his villain's appearance. For so long as Rui-Velázquez does not appear there is just the possibility that he may not have come at all. See how the author keeps us in suspense. Once the cries of admiration which greet the noble entry of Mudarra have subsided, and he awaits his adversary, the emotional strain becomes tenser and tenser :

Pásase largo rato, y no parece;
Ya el sol declina lento, aun no se escucha
Ni lejano rumor; ya es media tarde
Y no hay de Rui-Velázquez nueva alguna.
Tanto esperar fastidia al gran gentío,
Tardanza tal al retador disgusta,
Y el Conde, el Arzobispo y ricos-hombres
De que tenga la lid efecto dudan.
Se alza vago rumor entre la plebe
Y noticias extrañas se divulgan...

Various theories on his non-appearance circulate¹. The majority favours the idea of his flight :

Que el caballero
De la noche a favor se ha puesto en fuga,

1. P. 489, ll. 1-10.

Parece ya indudable; su tardanza
Lo confirma también; pero son muchas
Las opiniones y diversas ¹.

The villain's few partisans maintain that he will arrive : words flow freely; the crowd is divided into two parties; the Archbishop suggests a search; a sudden clamour outside attracts every eye to the door; there is a diversion as the ransomed prisoners enter; Mudarra thinks of Kerima : can he get news of her? When suddenly :

zumba

La voz universal de *El es*, ya sale,
Y la gran multitud torna a ser muda ².

The account of the fight, from the first encounter of the combatants to the point where all salute the victor, is described in less than two hundred and fifty lines, or at rather less length than the foregoing account of the doings of the waiting crowd. But no careful student of the poem would think the earlier part disproportionately long.

This threefold division of the poem takes no account of the final canto, which stands in a peculiar relation to the whole. One would have expected it to be short, and in the nature of an appendix to the third division of the poem. The illness of Mudarra is natural enough; the story of Egidio is fitting; and the baptism of Mudarra and Kerima, if they are to be married, is, from the author's standpoint, essential.

But what we are not prepared for is, without any doubt, the refusal of Kerima to marry the lover who has slain her father. In cold blood, that sentence seems strange : for

1. P. 489, ll. 9-13.

2. P. 493, ll. 20-22.

could she, under any circumstances, have been expected to marry him? Her action is, on the contrary, the natural one in a girl of any character. But it is not the conventional *dénouement* of a romance, and it is too sudden. Our real surprise is at the fact that we have not been prepared for this ending, rather than at the ending itself¹. The situation is not unlike what Azorín's whimsical description makes it :

Saavedra nos ha estado hablando durante todo el larguísimo poema de los amores tiernos, trágicos de una linda moza y un apuesto galán; y luego, cuando después de tanto dolor y de tanta lamentable peripecia van a casarse, la novia grita como una loca y se niega a casarse. Y el autor hace una pirueta y termina su obra de un modo jovial y grotesco². »

More critically, the anonymous writer in the *Revista Española* of May 24 1834 summed up the feelings of succeeding generations thus :

La abandonamos [a Kerima] en el quinto romance, dejándola

1. Most of the critics agree in condemning it. Thus Gil y Carrasco : « Tampoco el desenlace nos parece bien preparado y traído, ni cuadra con la entonación y colorido poético de toda la obra » (*op. cit.*, p. 151). « Su desenlace no aparece demasiadamente preparado ni bien traído » says Pastor Diaz (*Obras del Duque de Rivas*, 1894, Vol. I, p. 63) in ominously similar words. « Ce dénouement imprévu est trop prompt; il est peu motivé, *mal amené*. Si l'on s'y arrête un peu cependant, pour en chercher le sens, ne voit-on pas la *fatalité* s'y montrer avec un caractère particulier? » (Mazade, *Le duc de Rivas*.) Manuel Cañete thought otherwise : « La rapidísima catástrofe con que concluye *El Moro Expósito* es complemento racional de su idea generadora, reducida a patentizar simbólicamente que la maldad y los excesos de la pasión nunca se libran del justiciero castigo de la Providencia. » (*Op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.) I do not discuss the question of whether or not the *desenlace* is fatalistic in intention or effect because it seems to me merely an argument raised by the writer in order that he may have the pleasure of combating it.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

tierna, sensible, enamorada, algo quebrantada en el respeto a la creencia religiosa en que fué educada; y no volvemos a verla hasta el romance duodécimo; y sin preparación bastante, huye del altar donde iba a unirse con el hombre predilecto de su alma, y se condena a los rigores de la vida de un convento... ¿Es fanatismo? Una pasión superior en fuerza ¿ha destruido así el amor que profesaba a Mudarra? ¿De dónde nació ésta? ¿De odio en efecto al matador de su padre? Hay tal violencia en esta transición, tal desengaño para los ánimos que tenía cautivados, que la razón se queda helada, el afecto que se la profesó desaparece, y su resolución no conmueve inspirando interés; lo que después se refiere de Mudarra, añade a la incertidumbre que sobre él hemos señalado, y el último término del grandioso cuadro que se ha recorrido no corresponde a la pompa que le rodeó y al entusiasmo que produjo en los primeros. El abandono romántico no debe ir hasta incurrir en estas degradaciones del efecto primitivo.

Piñeyro explains this boldly by supposing haste on the part of the author.

Creo ver en el romance último señales inequívocas de precipitación, como si se hubiese compuesto demasiado aprisa, aguijado el autor por vehemente deseo de poner término a su larga obra... Me parece que no se espera tan pronta, ni tan violenta, ni tan breve la escena final ¹.

We suspect that it is only the last sixteen lines which move the critic to write thus. There is nothing to our mind which suggests haste in the remainder of the canto : rather it betokens careful elaboration and design. It is the light-heartedness which consigns Mudarra to a nameless and hypothetical bride, the implication that his wound was not too deep to be healed by Time, this « sistema de tomar a broma lo más serio ² » that surprises us almost as much as it shocks Azorín.

But there is another theory than that of haste (which

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

2. Azorín, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

seems to be supported by no external evidence) to explain these concluding lines. Rivas wished to introduce the Manriques de Lara

que se precian
De hallar su origen en tan noble tronco ¹

Had Mudarra married Kerima that could have been accomplished easily, in a few conventional lines. As it is, the unexpected catastrophe makes it impossible. The author has either to omit the reference, or in some way to indicate that Mudarra married another. He chooses the second alternative, and, in order to accomplish his end, has perforce to adopt a tone of somewhat forced and heavy gaiety which must strike every reader as unfortunate.

But this still leaves untouched the main question of the action of Kerima at the altar. Has the author prepared us for this blow? Granted that it is a natural action to a girl of a certain temperament, has Kerima been shown to have this temperament?

The repugnance which she feels for the man who has slain her father would be felt by most girls of any sensibility. The only thing that could actively overcome it is an overwhelming love for him. The first question is, then : Has Kerima been represented as having that love for Mudarra? Without wishing to anticipate a more detailed study of Kerima's character which belongs to a later point in this work, one must answer the question in the affirmative. Almost the only definite and striking trait of character which she has is that love.

Mudarra es su existencia,
En Mudarra se cifra su universo ².

1. *Moro Expósito*, p. 541, ll. 13 14.

2. P. 65, ll. 13 14.

If those lines mean anything, — and they are pronounced in the author's weightiest manner, — they mean that Kerima's life is bound up in Mudarra's; that apart from him she has no interest in life; that without him, indeed, she cannot live. At this point of the story it is inconceivable that she should ever give him up, even though the crime against her which he had committed involuntarily were the greatest conceivable. It must be said emphatically, then, that in this respect the ending of the poem is inartistic.

But supposing Kerima had not this love for Mudarra, she might still be prevented from refusing to marry him, did that alternative suggest itself, by a passiveness of character, a lack of the resolution necessary to carry through an act which would be difficult for anyone, but most of all for a young girl fresh from the influence of a long preparation for baptism and under the influence of a ceremony in which she was already the central figure. The second question is : Has Kerima been presented to us as having that resolution and force of character? This question will presently be answered in the negative. Apart from a few slight suggestions of strength, Kerima is the typical oriental woman, and has just that lack of self-reliance which she would most need to carry through her difficult task. The psychological preparation, in short, for the *desenlace* is absolutely incomplete.

It will be said, however, that Kerima's great love for Mudarra and her somewhat negative and forceless character — both of which would under ordinary circumstances inhibit her from acting as described — are overcome by her conversion to Christianity, and that this is the whole justification, and an ample justification, of the ending of the poem. This, no doubt, would be Rivas' defence; but the answer which comes at once to our lips is the observation with which the discussion started. Viewed dispassionately, the

action may be natural and right enough. The question has been tormenting Kerima's brain since first she learned the name of her father's murderer : gradually the great resolution has been taking shape in her mind. Strengthened by meditation and prayer during the period of her catechumenate, it springs into words when she has received the final grace of baptism and has been made an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven. Hence (we may be told) the triumph with which the resolve bursts forth :

¡No... jamás!

...La voz oigo

Del cielo, que estos lazos me prohíbe...

Yo me consagro a Dios... Cristo es mi esposo ¹.

But the fact remains that this is the first hint which the reader has had of such a resolve ². If the author's intention were to convey a religious lesson (and so make tardy amends for the scant courtesy he has paid to Catholicism throughout the poem), what chances he has missed earlier in the story! How he might have described Kerima's conflict of soul during the interval that separates the homicide from the duel ³! What a moving picture he might have drawn of

1. P. 540, ll. 21-4.

2. I cannot admit that (for example) the reflexion in Canto II (p. 71, ll. 11-14) is a legitimate preparation, though the poet may have meant it as such :

Parece que la voz del otro mundo
Os está inexorable repitiendo
Que un mar de sangre entre vosotros brama,
Que se alza un muro de insepultos huesos.

3. Instead of which she disappears for so long that we almost forget any signs of character she may have shown. It is partly this which causes the reader an unpleasant surprise: whatever Kerima was before,

Kerima in her cell during the period of her preparation ¹! No : the religious motive might have been the author's rationalization for the ending which he gives us, but we can see, as clearly as if he had avowed it, that the true reason was the Romantic passion for surprise. How neatly Alonso Cortés puts it :

No son muchas las osadías que el duque se permite... Acaso el duque de Rivas pensó que su poema era poco romántico y para comunicarle mas carácter dióle un desenlace que por ello se ha calificado de violento y brusco ².

Gil y Carrasco said of the plot of *El Moro Expósito* : « La acción peca de escasa y aparece un tanto desleída; las narraciones están empleadas con profusión y en cierto modo estorban y detienen su curso », and censuring a certain « monotony and lack of individuality in most of the characters » he remarked also a « no sé qué de confuso más que de enredoso en el plan ³ ». For our own part we can see no-

she has become by the time of the duel scene a lay figure — an objectivity — an apparition.

1. Instead of these conventional lines and this definite and direct suggestion that the marriage will be consummated :

Volvamos, pues, a nuestros dos amantes,
A quien el cielo por tan raros modos
Trajo a abrazar el santo cristianismo
Y a unirse en insoluble matrimonio.
De reclusión dos meses completaron,
Y examinados por varones doctos,
Halláronlos dispuestos dignamente,
Y a recibir el agua santa idóneos.

(P. 532, ll. 1-8.)

2. Zorrilla, *su vida y sus obras*. Tomo I, p. 160.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

thing « thin », « weak » or « confused » about the plot. The analysis given above, which follows the course of the narrative exactly, seems to us sufficient defence¹. It might reasonably be complained, however, that the narrative of Zaide resembles the archpriest's various sermons in its prolixity, and that several of the digressions elsewhere in the poem are of a length hardly justified by their interest or value.

Zaide's story is naturally enough introduced, and some such narrative is necessary as the only means of giving the reader information essential to the continuation of the story. It is broken up in ways which will be discussed later, but which will be generally considered effective in preventing the story from becoming monotonous. But we may well ask : Was it necessary, or can it be thought desirable, that the narrative of Zaide should occupy two cantos of a poem of twelve, or about one eighth part of the whole? The essentials could have been given in something like one-third the space, including those parts, such as the account of Lara's courtesies to Zaide, which illumine the characters of both, and thus play a real though less obvious part than the main events in the development of the plot.

Of the lesser digressions, none would wish to expunge those which turn the attention from the story to its writer. The history of Giafar, too, in Canto II is told with comparative brevity. Nuño's long story in Canto VI is harder to justify, but less so on account of its length than because, as will be shown, it is at variance with his character. It

1. Cf. what was almost the first review of the *Moro Expósito* : « La acción del *Moro Expósito* es bastante sencilla... está conducida con orden y regularidad, y... no presenta en su principio, en su medio y en su fin ninguna complicación ni extravagancia que choque a la verosimilitud. » (*Revista Española*, May 24 1834.)

would probably be agreed by most readers that Rui-Velázquez' history, which occupies a very large proportion of Canto IX, is not only too long but occurs at an unsuitable point in the story. It is hard to see how, at its actual length, it could have been transferred to another and earlier point: the obvious remedy would have been to shorten it. As it is, it delays by another canto the event to which every reader is looking forward, without adding much to the narrative which is of any importance to it and with which the reader is not already acquainted. The events of Cantos VIII and X, without the description of Mudarra's mental state and the legitimization ceremony, which might, as has been suggested, have been omitted, are more than a sufficient preparation for the concluding events of the story.

Something should be said, before leaving the construction of the poem, of its lavish use of antithesis and contrast. There is one broad contrast in the plan of the story — between the magnificent yet waning Moorish civilization of Córdoba, and the comparative poverty of the Court of Castile which nevertheless has the makings of future greatness. There is the subsidiary antithesis between the luxurious vegetation and climate of Andalucía and the barrenness of the frigid North. There is a contrast between the religions and the customs of the rival powers, sometimes expressed ¹,

1. *E. g.* Ya diez y nueve veces, visto había
 De Ramazán las ceremonias vanas
 La luna en la mezquita celebrarse,
 Donde hoy los ritos de la Iglesia santa.

(P. 11, ll. 19-22.)

Oyense rimbombar los sacros bronce,
Que en la que fué mezquita y hoy es templo,
Han reemplazado con mejor destino
Del árabe almuhedén el ministerio.

(P. 78, ll. 21-4.)

but more often suggested or left to be understood ¹, with the note of triumph which never seems for long to be absent from the Catholicism of Andalucía as the fall of the Moslem power and the victories of Christianity are recalled. There are the familiar contrasts of Romantic art between the moral and physical aspects of one person : Doña Lambra, wife of Rui-Velázquez :

Hermosa, aunque pasado el fresco brillo
De la primera juventud...
Mas era el corazón de Doña Lambra
Compuesto de venenos infernales ²...

¿ Por qué en tal solio un alma noble y grande
No puso el cielo, generosa y digna
De tan bello y magnífico hospedaje ³?

There is, finally, the marked contrast between the hermit and the abbot in the two confession scenes, as well as between good and bad characters, — sometimes again too openly expressed to be convincing. But this is a familiar fault in the Romantic device of contrast.

And even the naïve comment (at the baptismal ceremony) :

Mudarra sobre *el traje castellano*,
Que le sienta mejor que el traje moro,
De neófito la blanca veste lleva...

(P. 536, ll. 9-11.)

1. E. g., by the contrast between Lara and Zaide, and the reflexions of the latter on the former's nobility; between Kerima and María; between Rui-Velázquez and Mudarra.

2. Pp. 378-80, *passim*.

3. P. 381, ll. 28-30.

4. E. g., p. 129, ll. 19-26.

III

Sources of the poem. — Sources cited by Rivas : Mariana, Morales, Matos Fragoso, Sepúlveda, etc. — Sources not cited by him: Hurtado Velarde and Lope de Vega. — Extent of Rivas' indebtedness to each. — The originality of his plot.

So far as can be told from the notes which Rivas appended to the *Moro Expósito*, the principal sources on which he drew were four. Twice he cites Mariana's *Historia de España* (Book VIII, chapter IX) ¹; once (at the end of the book, possibly because it was not available in Malta) Ambrosio de Morales' *Corónica general de España* (Book XVII, chapter XVI) ²; once Matos' Fragoso's play *El Traidor contra su sangre y siete infantes de Lara* ³; and once some documents in the possession of the Duque de Frias, who was the holder of the Salas estates ⁴. In addition he mentions two *romances* on the subject of his story ⁵ which will be considered in their

1. *Ed. cit.*, pp. 136, 375.

2. P. 545. The chapter is in reality XLVI.

3. P. 545.

4. Pp. 542, ff.

5. Pp. 136-7. The other sources for parts of the *Moro Expósito* which Rivas mentions in his notes may be classified thus :

For local colour (Moorish) :

(Pp. 41, 43, 92) Conde : *Historia de la dominación de los Arabes en España*.

place, and in a note on the last page of the book, he quotes, in connection with statements in Morales, « Garibay, Argote de Molina, Mariana, Gudiel y otros autores de gran peso... los obispos Sampiro y Pelayo... Don Rodrigo Sánchez y D. Alonso de Cartagena... Salazar de Mendoza y fray Prudencio de Sandoval ¹ ». These authors, however, he seems not actually to have read, but to have taken at second hand, from Luis de Salazar y Castro ², whom he mentions directly

(P. 90) Alderete : *Antigüedades de España*.

For derivations of words and antiquities generally :

(P. 133) A. Ponz : *Viaje de España*.

(P. 473) Conde de Cicognara : *Storia della scultura*, Bks. III, IV.

For justification for his presentation of monks :

(Pp. 473 ff) St. Bernard, *passim*, Pero Lope de Ayala : Some verses from the *Rimado de Palacio* modernised in *Revista Española*, Dec. 8 1832.

Rodriguez Campomanes : *Tratado de la regalia de amortización*. *Novísima Recopilación*, Book X.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 546.

2. *Historia genealógica de la casa de Lara, justificada con instrumentos, y escritores de inviolable fe*, 1696. (Bk. I, 11, 12; Bk. II, 1.) Salazar mentions all these writers and others : Morales, Argote de Molina, Garibay, Gudiel, Tellez de Meneses, Aponte, Fray Bernardo de Brito, Juan de Mariana, Juan Vasseo, « y otros muchos escritores », of whom he says :

« Todos uniformemente escriben la alevosia perpetrada en los siete Infantes de Lara cuya seguridad no dudamos; pero no todos afirman la union de Gonçalo Gustios con la hermana del Rey Almançor, el nacimiento de Mudarra Gonçalez, y la sucession del en la Casa de Lara. »

He then goes on to speak of the *Historia de España* of D. Rodrigo Sanchez, Bishop of Palencia, and the *Anacephalaeosis* of Don Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos. D. Rodrigo Ximenez, Archbishop of Toledo, in his *Historia de España* (1243), does not mention Mudarra, adds Salazar; Sampiro, Bishop of Astorga and Pelayo, Bishop of Oviedo, almost contemporaries of the chief actors in the history of the murder, are completely silent about it; so also are Salazar de

afterwards, — and taken them rather carelessly at that¹.

The information contained in Mariana which could have served Rivas' purpose is as follows :

Fué así, que luego el siguiente año siete nobilísimos hermanos, que vulgarmente llaman los Infantes de Lara, fueron muertos por alevosía de Ruy Velázquez, su tío, sin tener cuenta con el parentesco, que eran hijos de su hermana doña Sancha, y de parte de padre venían de los condes de Castilla, y del conde don Diego Porcellos; de cuya hija, como de suso queda dicho, y de Nuño Belchides nacieron Nuño Rasera, bisabuelo del conde Garcí Fernández, y otro hijo llamado Gustio González. Este caballero fué padre de Gonzalo Gustio, señor de Salas de Lara, y sus hijos estos siete hermanos conocidos en la historia de España, no más por la fama de sus proezas, que por la desastrada muerte que tuvieron. En un mismo día los armó caballeros

Mendoza' and « El obispo Fray Prudencio de Sandoval », who derive the Manriques de Lara from « one » of the seven *infantes*.

A comparison of this passage with Rivas' note (*op. cit.*, p. 546) will leave no doubt as to where he got his information. It may be of interest to append the passage in which Salazar de Castro (Book I, chapter 11, pp. 31-2) outlines the story of the murder and the revenge :

« ... D. Gonçalo Gustios II, Señor de Salas, que casando con Doña Sancha Velazquez de Burueva, procreó a los siete Infantes de Lara, D. Diego, D. Martin, D. Suero, D. Fernando, D. Gustios, y D. Gonçalo ; los quales fueron muertos en los Campos de Albacar por los Moros, a disposicion de D. Ruy Velazquez su tio ; y D. Gonçalo Gustios, su padre, llevado prisionero al Rey Almançor de Cordova, donde tuvo amores con una hermana de aquel Principe, y engendró en ella a Mudarra Gonçalez, que vino a Castilla, vengó la muerte de sus hermanos, quitando la vida a D. Ruy Velazquez, fué prohiado por Doña Sancha, su madrastra, casó con una Dueña de alta sangre del linage de los Godos, y tuvo al Conde D. Ordoño de Lara, llamado de otros D. Nuño Gonçalez de Avalos; pero todos conociendo a Mudarra Gonçalez su padre por indubitado progenitor de la Casa de Lara. »

1. For, as will be seen from a comparison of note 2 above with Rivas' note (*op. cit.*, p. 546), Rivas records incorrectly the precise omissions of Sampiro and Pelayo. (This was first suggested to me by Sr. Menendez Pidal's study of the legend of the Infantes.)

el conde don García conforme a la costumbre, en aquellos tiempos recibida, en particular en España. Aconteció que Ruy Velázquez, señor de Billaren, celebraba sus bodas en Burgos con doña Lambra, natural de tierra de Briviesca, mujer principal y aun prima carnal del conde Garcí Fernández. Las fiestas fueron grandes y el concurso a ellas de gente principal. Halláronse presentes el conde Garcí Fernández y los siete hermanos con su padre Gonzalo Gustio; encendiése una cuestión por pequeña ocasión entre Gonzalo, el menor de los siete hermanos, y un pariente de doña Lambra, que se decía Alvar Sanchez, sin que sucediese algún daño notable, salvo que Lambra, como la que se tenía por agraviada con aquella riña, para vengar su saña en el lugar de Barbadillo, hasta donde los hermanos por honrarla la acompañaron, mandó a un esclavo que tirase a Gonzalo un cohombro mojado o lleno de sangre; grave injuria y ultraje conforme a la costumbre de España. El esclavo se quiso valer de su señora doña Lambra; no le prestó, que en su mismo regazo le quitaron la vida. Ruy Velázquez, que a la sazón se hallaba ausente ocupado en cosas de importancia, luego que volvió, alterado por aquella injuria, y agraviado por la afrenta de su mujer, comenzó a tratar de vengarse de los hermanos. Parecióle conveniente con muestra de paz y benevolencia, cosa la más perjudicial, armar sus lazos a los que pretendía matar. Primeramente dió orden que Gonzalo Gustio fué a Córdoba; la voz era cobrar ciertos dineros que el Rey bárbaro había prometido; la verdad, para que fuese muerto lejos de su patria, como Ruy Velázquez rogaba al Rey que hiciese, con cartas que le escribió en esta razón en arábigo. El Moro, o por compasión que tuvo a las canas de hombre tan principal, o por dar muestra de su benignidad, no le quiso matar; contentóse con ponerle en la cárcel. Era la prisión algo libre, con que cierta hermana del rey tuvo entrada para comunicarle. Desta conversación dicen que nació Mudarra González, principio y fundador del linaje nobilísimo en España de los Manriques. No se contentó el feroz ánimo de Ruy Velázquez con el trabajo de Gonzalo Gustio; llevó adelante su rabia. Cerca de Almenara, en los campos de Araviana, a las haldas de Moncayo, metió con muestra de hacer entrada en la tierra de los moros en una celada a los siete hermanos, bien descuidados de semejante traición. Bien que Nuño Salido, su ayo, por sospechar el engaño procuró apartarlos para que no corriesen a su perdición; pero fué en vano, porque así lo quiso o lo permitió Dios. Iban con ellos doscientos de a caballo, pocos para el gran número de los moros que cargaron. Descubierta la celada, los siete hermanos pelearon como buenos,

dieron la muerte a muchos, pretendían vencer si pudiesen o por lo menos vender sus vidas muy caro y dejar a los enemigos la victoria a costa de mucha sangre, resueltos de no dejarse prender ni afeár con el cautiverio la gloria y nobleza de su linaje y sus hazañas pasadas. Murieron todos siete y juntamente Salido, su ayo. Las cabezas enviaron a Córdoba en presente agradable para aquel Rey; pero muy triste para su padre viejo, ca se las hicieron mirar y reconocer sin embargo que llegaron podridas y desfiguradas. Verdad es que sucedió en provecho suyo en alguna manera, ca el Rey, por compasión que le tuvo, le dejó ir libre a su tierra. Mudarra, habido en la hermana del Rey, fuera de matrimonio, ya que era de catorce años, por persuasión de su madre se fué para su padre, y adelante vengó las muertes de sus hermanos con darla a Ruy Velázquez, causa de aquel daño. Doña Lambra, su mujer, ocasión de todos estos males, fué apedreada y quemada. Con esta venganza que tomó de las muertes de sus hermanos ganó las voluntades de su madrastra doña Sancha y de todo su linaje de tal guisa, que heredó el señorío de su padre. Prohijóle otrosí doña Sancha, su madrastra; la adopción se hizo en esta manera, aunque grosera, pero memorable. El mismo día que se bautizó y fué armado caballero por el conde de Castilla Garcí Fernández, su madrastra, resuelta de tomarle por hijo, usó desta ceremonia : metiéndole por la manga de una muy ancha camisa, y sacóle la cabeza por el cabezón; dióle paz en el rostro, con que le pasó a su familia y recibió por su hijo. Desta costumbre salió el refrán vulgar : entra por la manga, y sale por el cabezón; dicese del que siendo recebido a trato familiar cada día se ensancha más. Hijo de Mudarra fué Ordoño, y nieto Diego Ordoñez de Lara, aquel con quien los hijos de Arias Gonzalo, para librar a su patria de la infamia de traición que le cargaban por la muerte del rey don Sancho, que le mató con un venablo Vellido Dolfo, pelearon en desafío y hicieron con él campo.

If Rivas studied Morales at first hand in addition to Mariana (which, in our own view, is at least doubtful) he added but little by it to this information, as will be seen from the table at the end of this book ¹. The occasion of the quarrel at the wedding is briefly narrated, as in Mariana ² : so also

1. Appendix, I, pp. 575 ff.

2. « Andando en esta fiesta riñeron malamente por la honra della

are the preliminary events, the murder of the *infantes*, and the reception of the news by the unhappy father¹. Almanzor, according to Morales, has more compassion than Mariana will allow him², but Rivas is nearer to the later writer here than the earlier. The only points where Rivas seems to follow Morales rather than Mariana are in the mention of Almanzor's name, his kindly treatment of Gustios, Rui-Velázquez' promise to Almanzor, the age of Mudarra, the description of his qualities and charms, his likeness to Gonzalvico; and (most important of all) the events leading up to the duel³. But, as will be seen, every one of these details Rivas might have taken from another known source of his, and, as we shall later see, it need not and cannot be assumed that he ever read Morales at all.

This source is Matos Fragoso's play *El traidor contra su sangre y Siete infantes de Lara*⁴, to which Rivas refers but once⁵, and then only as having supplied him with the element of Lara's blindness⁶. This play, as Sr. Menéndez Pidal shows in the section of his book which he devotes to it, is

Gonzalo González, el menor de los siete infantes, y Alvar Sanchez, primo hermano de la novia doña Lambra. »

1. See below, pp. 575 ff.

2. He is moved with horror and pity on reading the letter which Gustios brings; shows him the letter; tells him that he will be no party to his death, but must imprison him; and treats him kindly in prison both before and after the death of his seven sons.

3. See table below (*sub* « Crónica General »). The remaining points in which Mariana does not follow Morales have no parallel in Rivas.

4. It is dealt with shortly by R. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-154.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 545.

6. Which for that matter, was also to be found in Hurtado de Velarde's *Gran Tragedia*, which Rivas is also supposed to have used.

based very largely upon, and here and there plagiarises, Alfonso Hurtado Velarde's *Gran Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara*, written between 1612 and 1615. We shall presently discuss whether Rivas knew this play as well as Matos Frago's; let us first, however, see what he seems to have owed to the latter.

It will be well to look at the play as a whole before entering into details. In the first act we are outside Córdoba, where the Christians have won a victory over the Moors. Gonzalo Bustos, a kinsman of the Count of Castile, who is in command, is sent by him to suggest a truce to Almanzor, the Moorish king. Before going, Bustos confides to his sons that he fears his cousin Ruy Velázquez, whose brother-in-law the youngest of the seven, Gonzalvico, has killed. Ostensibly, however, peace has been made.

We are then admitted to the intimacies of Arlaja, Almanzor's sister, who is very melancholy¹, for she is in love with a noble Christian (i. e. Bustos) whom she has seen in the fight, and whom her brother is anxious to have killed. The entrance of Gonzalo Bustos is followed by the presentation of a letter, which is signed by Ruy Velázquez, and contains a recommendation from that traitor that the bearer, being dangerous to Almanzor, shall be put to death. Almanzor intends to comply, but it is Arlaja's birthday, and she begs for the Christian's life. He is therefore not killed, but imprisoned.

The first part of Act II is occupied with events leading up to the death of the Infantes,—Gonzalvico's dream which presages disaster; the fair words and evil intentions of Ruy Velázquez; the surprising of the Infantes by the Moors;

1.

Ando

Con una melancolía

Que no entiendo.

the appearance of Ruy Velázquez and his refusal to prevent their murder; finally, their death after a noble struggle and the carrying of their heads to Almanzor. This succession of events is hardly utilised in the *Moro Expósito* at all.

When we see Bustos in chains, however, lamenting the possible fate of his sons, we are nearing the part of the play which Rivas used :

¿ Adónde estáis, hijos míos?
¿ Dónde el valor y coraje
De vuestros hidalgos pechos?
¿ Qué torpe sueño os combate?
¿ Qué sirena os adormece
Con olvidos desiguales,
Que así perdéis la memoria
De librar a vuestro padre?

Arlaja enters, as her custom is, to visit Bustos, and bewails his contempt for her love. After a long interview between them Almanzor comes in to set Bustos free since the danger threatened to him (Almanzor) is now past. But first let him walk with Almanzor in the gardens while music applauds the Moorish king's triumphs. The garden is the setting for the gruesome scene in which the heads of the Infantes are brought. A long lament by Bustos follows, after which Arlaja comes to console Bustos, — which she completely fails to do — and tells him that a horse is waiting to take him back to Castile.

In the third act, which takes place many years later, Arlaja's son by Gonzalo Bustos, given out to be a foundling, has grown to be a boy of great promise; he has been told the story of his father and is bent upon avenging him. Mudarra then appears, showing at once his independence and his sympathies by ordering certain Christian prisoners to be liberated, an order which leads to a difference with Almanzor and prepares the way for Mudarra to leave home.

He sets out for Castile, and, the scene changing, we are shown Bustos, old and blind, bewailing the fact that his enemy still lives and that he has no son to avenge him. Just then he learns that a band of Moors is round his house, and that their leader is a boy like Gonzalvico. The recognition of Mudarra and his father follows; the incidents of the journey are related, and the means of vengeance discussed. The entrance of the Count and Ruy Velázquez, who want to know the reason of the Moors' presence, precipitates matters. Mudarra attacks Ruy Velázquez as a traitor; the latter retaliates by calling Mudarra a bastard, which leads to a quarrel. Ruy Velázquez blanches at the boy's challenge to a duel (« El color Se le ha puesto verdinegro ») but the Count fixes the encounter for the same night. Ruy Velázquez thereupon tries to escape and is brought back by Mudarra. An impromptu combat follows, in which the traitor is killed. The play ends with the miraculous restoration of Bustos' sight and the conversion and baptism of Mudarra.

Even this superficial *resumé* of Matos Fragoso's play will make it clear that Rivas owed to it, or to some similar source which he does not name, very much more than the single detail of Bustos' blindness¹. No debts of importance occur before the middle of the second act, but thence onwards

1. Sc., too thinks Sr. Menéndez Pidal (*op. cit.*, p. 154). « Matos, que no sentía pesar sobre sí la autoridad de la tradición, se preocupó, antes que de seguirla, de reformarla sin ningún embarazoso respeto, elaborando de nuevo aquellos episodios que una revisión minuciosa hallaba defectuosos. Por esto el Duque de Rivas no encontró, entre todas las versiones de la historia de Gonzalo Bustos, otra que mejor le pareciese que la contenida en el *Traidor contra su sangre*, de donde tomó para su *Moro Expósito* bastante más de lo que confiesa, y por esto la comedia de Matos vive aun hoy en los teatros populares de nuestras aldeas y villas. »

there are so many that they may best be grouped round the principal scenes :

(1) *Lara learns of his sons' fate* : The long lament which Matos Fragoso gives to Bustos is not reproduced in the *Moro Expósito*, but the resemblances of detail, — especially the naming of the seven sons one by one — are considerable. There is, of course, nothing of the kind in Morales (see Appendix I), much less in Mariana.

REY

[Los cristianos] me han remitido
Un presente, que más vale
Para mí, que toda España...
Dártele quiero, por ser
Plato de valor notable,
Y porque te sirva aquí
De postre para que acabes.

Ponen las siete cabezas por su orden, como que están cortadas, y alzan una cortina junto, adonde está Gonzalo Bustos.

GONZALO

¡Válgame el Cielo mil veces!

REY

Todos os salid, dejadle,
Que si libertad le he dado,
Bien ha pagado el rescate.

(*Vanse.*)

GONZALO

Ay de mí infeliz, qué miro!
Hijos de mi corazón,
Dulces prendas de mi vida,
¿Qué cierzo airado arrancó

De tanto tronco florido
La bella, y lozana flor?
¿Quién desta suerte os ha puesto?
Si con aqueste dolor
No muero deshecho en llanto,
No soy vuestro padre, no,
Pues no es posible que viva
Animado aliento, y voz,
Quien tiene con siete heridas
Traspasado el corazón.
Bárbaros, tiranos, viles,
Sin duda que hombres no sois,
Sino fieras, pues me herís
Con un golpe tan atroz.
Gonzalvico, Angel querido,
¿No erais mi contento vos?
¿Cómo no me habláis, mi vida?
Este, por ser el menor,
Era de mí el más querido;
Mas no es esa la razón,
Sino que ha menos que había
Salido del corazón.
Fernando, Diego, Martín,
Don Bustos, Rodrigo (¡Ay Dios!)
¿Cómo me atrevo a nombrarlos?
Pero sí, que como son
Muchos pedazos del alma,
Por eso quiere el amor,
Que haya muchos sentimientos,
Y así, con distinta voz
Va repartiendo la queja
De un dolor a otro dolor.
Llorad, tristes ojos míos,
Que si hoy falta el llanto en vos,
Lloraréis toda la vida
De no haber llorado hoy.
Pimpollos recién nacidos
En el árbol del valor,
Antes que veros cortados,
Muriera mil veces yo.

(2) *The childhood of Mudarra.* Mudarra's character (of which Mariana says nothing) will be discussed in a later section, but a more important point is that the incident which gives Rivas' poem its title — the bringing up of Mudarra as a foundling — is not in the chronicles and was probably taken by the poem from Matos Fragoso. Says Arlaja in Act III :

Aunque le llama (*i. e.* el rey) sobrino,
Ya sabes que con cautela
Por disfrazar mi delito,
Le dí a entender a mi hermano,
Que le crié desde niño,
Y que fué hallado a la puerta
De mi cuarto, y que encendido
De amor, y piedad el pecho
Le dí de hijo adoptivo
El nombre...

(3) *The meeting of Lara and his son.* This is preceded by a short scene in which the dramatist introduces the element of Bustos' blindness, which Rivas uses. This element does not occur in the earlier sources. The following device of the dramatist reproduced below, Rivas imitates but does not exactly copy :

Sale Gonzalo Bustos de barba, arrimado a un bordón, como ciego, y un jardinero.

GONZALO

Sancho, Nuño, ¡hola! criados,
Escuderos, ¿cómo es esto?
¿No hay quien responda?

JARDINERO

Señor.

GONZALO

¿Quién eres tú?

JARDINERO

El jardinero.

¿No me conoces?

GONZALO

No, amigo,

Pues de llorar ya estoy ciego;
Ponme en lugar donde pueda
Gozar del sol.

The actual recognition of father and son in Matos Fragoso may well be compared with the scene in the *Moro Expósito*. For Morales does not go into any detail, and Mariana omits the meeting entirely :

MUDARRA

¡Válgame Alá! Que es mi padre
El alma me está diciendo,
Pues de una extraña alegría
Se me ha revestido el pecho.

GONZALO

¿No me respondéis?

MUDARRA

Señor,

Enternecido, y suspenso
De haberos ciego mirado,
Me dejó absorto el silencio
Pues de vuestro mal me toca
El dolor, y el sentimiento.

GONZALO

¿Por qué razón?

MUDARRA

Porque soy

El Moro que me parezco
A Gonzalvico.

GONZALO

Llegaos
Más a mí; y ¿es bastante eso
Para que sintáis mis males?

MUDARRA

Sí, que me obliga un precepto.

GONZALO

Y¿ cuál es?

MUDARRA

Es, que yo soy,
Padre, y señor, hijo vuestro,
Y de Arlaja, que postrado
A esos pies, la mano os beso.

GONZALO

Hijo mío ¿tú que has dicho?
Deja que dude el suceso,
Pues si creo estas verdades,
Puede matarme el contento.
Dame los brazos : ¡ay Dios!
¿Si es ilusión del deseo?
Hijo mío, hijo, el gusto
Me estorba la voz ¡Si es sueño!

MUDARRA

Que el ser me has dado confirma
Lo mucho que te respeto;
Que soy tu hijo no dudes,
Porque a no ser verdadero,
Nací, a pesar de la envidia,
Con tan altos pensamientos,
Que a pensar que no eras tú
Quien me ha dado el ser que tengo,
Solo al sol reconociera
Por padre de mis alientos.

Basco, servant and *gracioso*, then tells the story, and adds :

... Es tu hijo,
 Como de la tierra el puerro;
 Pues por los poros brotando
 De los Laras el esfuerzo,
 Tiene los ojos González,
 González los pensamientos,
 Y no hay valor más González
 Desde Gonzalo el primero...

GONZALO

Por el tacto reconozco,
 Que tienes el mismo cuerpo
 De Gonzalvico (¡ay memorias!)
 Las manos son de mi Diego,
 Y de Fernando la voz;
 Ya por lo menos no puedo
 Decir, que lo perdí todo,
 Pues me queda por consuelo
 En quien emplear gustoso
 El amor de todos ellos.

MUDARRA

Pues dellos soy viva copia,
 Por todos lograr espero
 La más heroica venganza,
 Que haya eternizado el tiempo.

To the accusation of Ruy Velázquez that Mudarra is a bastard, the boy gives an answer not unlike that in Rivas, and an equally sound one :

¿Bastardo yo? buen desprecio;
 En aqueso te engañaste.
 Porque en la ley que profeso,
 Solamente es matrimonio
 La voluntad de dos pechos.

(4) *Events preceding the combat.* Neither Morales nor Mariana gives any warrant for the events of the tenth canto of the *Moro Expósito*; for the fear of Rui-Velázquez carried to such a pitch that he considers expedients for escape (Romance IX); nor for his long delay in appearing in the lists on the day of the fight. All this occupies much space in the *Moro Expósito*, which follows, sometimes in detail and always in spirit, Matos Fragoso's play. Take, for instance, Rui-Velázquez' soliloquy after being thrown by his horse (as in Rivas) and before Mudarra's entry :

¡Válgame el Cielo mil veces!
También en brutos leales
Hay traición; sin duda es este
Enigma de mi delito,
Pues cuando huyo velozmente
Los rigores, y amenazas,
Que mi sinrazón convencen,
Se me desboca el caballo,
Y de la cerviz rebelde
Indócil me precipita.
Tan extraños accidentes
Presagios son de algún daño,
Que dudoso el pecho teme.
Cielos ¿qué haré? deste monte
En la espesura silvestre
Me esconderé; mas ¿qué digo?
A un rapaz, que apenas tiene
Varonil aliento, torpes
Se rinden mis altiveces?
¿No será mejor, que cumpla
De caballero las leyes,
Volviendo al sitio aplazado?
Claro está que es mejor, cesen
Aquestos temores viles,
Que mi nobleza obscurecen.
Mas ¡qué torpe es el delito!
La culpa ¡qué negligente!
Más acertado es huir,

Porque viendo estoy mi muerte,
En los filos de aquel joven.

The documents of the Duque de Frias on which Rivas drew have no great importance, and as they are quoted in full in the author's notes to the last Canto of the *Moro Expósito*¹ it will be sufficient to say that they add little to the plot beyond what we have already found in the chronicles and the play. More important are the « dos romances compuestos por Sepúlveda² » which are quoted by Rivas, and to which allusion is made in an earlier note³. Rivas' chief debt to Sepúlveda appears to have been in the narrative of Alvaro Sánchez and Gonzalo Gustios — especially the conception of Alvaro's strength — on which Mariana is very reticent, and Morales hardly less so. We may quote, in support of this view, not only the few extracts which Rivas gives in his note, but the rest of the passage, which he suppresses⁴.

1. Pp. 542-5.

2. « Hystoria de los Infantes de Lara » is the title of the twelve romances from which these are taken, the volume being entitled *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la cronica de España, compuestos por Lorenzo de Sepulveda*, Anvers, 1551. I have been able to see the edition of 1551, which is in the British Museum, besides the facsimile reprint of 1903. Sr. Menéndez Pidal had not seen the 1551 edition when he wrote upon Sepúlveda (*op. cit.*, p. 109) but cites the second edition, — Anvers 1566. As there are a number of verbal changes in the edition as quoted by Rivas it is probable that he too knew the 1566 volume. I have, however, for uniformity, quoted from the 1551 edition throughout this chapter, even where it differs slightly from Rivas' quotation. In addition, I have seen the *Cancionero de romances sacados de las crónicas antiguas de España con otros hechos por Sepúlveda*, of which two poems are entitled: « Romance de Doña Lambra » and « Romance de Don Rodrigo de Lara ». These do not, however, appear to have influenced Rivas in any way.

3. Pp. 137-9.

4. The quotations (see note 2 above) are from the edition of 1551. The words in square brackets are found in later editions but not in this.

Ruy-Velázquez es de Lara
El que ha de ser desposado :
Casará con doña Lambra,
Mujer es de gran estado :
Gonzalo Gustios el Bueno,
A las bodas es llegado :
Cuñado es de Ruy-Velázquez,
Con la [de] su hermana casado.
Trae consigo siete Infantes,
Que de Lara se han nombrado :
Hijos de Gonzalo Gustios,
Sobrinos del desposado :
Criólos Nuño Salido,
Caballero muy honrado :
Mostróles buenas costumbres,
Como a nobles hijosdalgo;
A todos siete en un día,
Caballeros han armado ;
Armólos Garcí Fernandez,
Ese conde castellano :
Caballeros son muy buenos
En armas bien se han probado.
Muchos vienen a las bodas
Caballeros de alto estado :
Duraron cinco semanas
Las fiestas que ha comenzado;
Do celebran grandes fiestas
De placer muy sublimado :
La postrer semana dellas
Don Rodrigo alzó un tablado;
Muy junto de una ribera
Que de Burgos es cercano;
Al tablado tiran muchos
Pero no hay tan esforzado
Que llegase a dar en él,
Aunque muchos lo han probado;
Un primo de doña Lambra,
Que Alvar Sánchez es llamado,
Vió que caballero alguno
No alcanzaba en el tablado :

Lanzó a él un gran bohordo
Gran ferida en él ha dado
Quebrantóle algunas tablas
Doña Lambra se ha gozado,
Dello hubo gran placer,
Con su cuñada ha hablado,
Dijole : Veis, doña Sancha,
Que caballero esforzado,
Que es mi buen primo Alvar Sánchez
Y tan bien encabalgado;
Que ninguno ha dado golpe
A donde el lo había dado.
Doña Sancha y los sus hijos
Riendo della han estado :
Ninguno dió miente a ello,
Que están las tablas jugando,
Sólo Gonzalo González,
El menor de los hermanos,
Que a furto de todos ellos,
Cabalgado ha en su caballo,
Con él iba un escudero
Que un azor lleva en la mano.
Gonzalo tomó un bohordo,
Fué donde estaba el tablado,
Tan gran golpe dió con él
Que por medio lo ha quebrado :
Doña Sancha y los sus hijos
Gran placer dello han tomado.
No placía a doña Lambra,
Que mucho le había pesado ;
Los Infantes que lo vieron,
Todos luego han cabalgado :
Temieron que vernía mal
A don Gonzalo su hermano
Alvar Sánchez con pesar
Al infante ha demostrado;
El respondió a sus palabras
A las manos han llegado,
Gran ferida dió el Infante
[A] Alvar Sánchez su contrario.

Dióle en medio del rostro
La mano el puño cerrado;
Quebrantóle las quijadas;
Los dientes le ha derribado.
Muerto cayó luego en tierra
De encima de su caballo.
Doña Lambra, que lo vió,
Grandes voces está dando :
Feriase en él su rostro
Con las manos arañando,
Diciendo : ¿ Qué dueña alguna
Así se había deshonrado
En bodas que fuesen hechas,
Si ella sola y en su cabo?
Ruy Velázquez, que lo oyó,
Luego había cabalgado,
Tomó un astil de [la]lanza,
Fué donde está Don Gonzalo;
Firiéralo en la cabeza,
Gran herida le había dado.

(Gonzalo complains of this treatment, whereupon Ruy-Velázquez tries to strike his head again, but only wounds his shoulder. The Count and Gustios reconcile them and Ruy-Velázquez pretends to be quite friendly) :

Soy contento y muy pagado :
Gran placer dello recibo
Con ellos, cuñado honrado :
Haréles yo toda honra,
De mi serán muy amados :
Por ser todos mis sobrinos
Serán ellos bien tratados
Mayormente siendo hijos
De hermana que tanto amo.

Rivas also quotes a few lines of the cucumber episode but, as this hardly varies in this and the other sources, it seems unnecessary to reproduce the original, nor indeed for

Rivas to have quoted from it. The remainder of the story as told by Sepúlveda is practically identical with Morales, and this confirms our own view that that author's *Crónica general* was unknown at first hand to Rivas. The details which Morales gives of the jousts; the pity with which he credits Almanzor — a *motif* merely suggested in Mariana and not utilised by Rivas for his own reasons; the episodes of the ambush, which Rivas also neglects; the divided ring; the birth, appearance and character of Mudarra; the departure of Mudarra for Burgos after the recognition scene; the attempt of Ruy Velázquez to escape *by night*: the slaying of thirty of his followers; the love of D^a Sancha for Mudarra; and the impossibility of punishing D^a Lambra (the last traits of course falling outside the scope of Rivas' version); all these points are to be found in Sepúlveda as well as in Morales, and there is not a single one which Rivas used and which occurs in Morales alone. It may be therefore taken that Sepúlveda, and not the *Crónica general*, was the source directly consulted by Rivas.

This disposes of the sources, known or possible, mentioned by Rivas : two more possible sources remain to be considered, — Hurtado Velarde's *Gran Tragedia de los Siete Infantes de Lara* and Lope de Vega's *Bastardo Mudarra*.

As will be seen from a comparison of the plots of Hurtado, Matos Fragoso and Rivas, all of which are included in the table in Appendix I, Matos follows Hurtado closely¹ and there is little in the *Moro Expósito* which Rivas could have taken from Hurtado and not from Matos Fragoso². The

1. Sr. Menéndez Pidal treats this question more fully than it is altogether relevant to do here; *op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

2. That Hurtado makes the Count arrive from a hunting expedition, as Rivas does, while Matos Fragoso simply says « de camino » is hardly worth citing, especially as Sepúlveda also says : « A cazar va don Rodrigo. » (Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 167.)

cucumber episode, the sending of Bustos to Córdoba, the scene of the seven heads, the recognition scene, and the challenge of Mudarra have no distinctive feature which Rivas copies. Everything before the quarrel between Rui-Velázquez and young Gonzalo is omitted by Hurtado, as are also the actual deaths of the *infantes*, in which Rivas agrees with Hurtado. But there is no need to suppose inspiration necessary for so obvious an omission! Alvar Sanchez is killed by young Gonzalo in Hurtado (as in Matos Fragoso); the scenes illustrative of Rui-Velázquez' treachery are spread out over most of the second act; Bustos after his long lament shows fight and kills one of his guards. These, however, are crudities (or contain crudities) which Rivas would naturally have omitted, whether he had seen Hurtado's play or not¹.

1. A comparison of the « seven heads » episode with both Matos Fragoso's version (pp. 245 ff., above) and with Rivas', will perhaps do more than any bald statements to make these points clear.

ALMANZOR

...Sabete Gonzalo Bustos,
Que entre tu gente y la mía,
En campos de Araviana
Murió gran caballería
Traído me han un presente,
Y mostrártelo quería
Son estas ocho cabezas,
Por ver si las conocía.

(*Ponen las ocho cabezas por su orden, y alzan una cortina, como que están cortadas junto adonde está Gonzalo Bustos.*)

BUSTOS

¡O válgame Dios del cielo,
Válgame santa María!

(*Suspéndese.*)

Two episodes only are cited in favour of Hurtado's influence. One is that of Doña Durdina, the « fuerte Goda

ALMANZOR

No lo dije yo, muerto está.
Bañadle con agua fría.

(Vuelve en sí.)

BUSTOS

¿ Para qué me habéis mojado,
Que estoy afrentado en fe mía?

(Tórnase a desmayar.)

Volveme Dios a valer
Y vos, Virgen pura y limpia.

ALMANZOR

Tenedle.

BUSTOS

Arredraos, amigos,
Que no es la mi valía
Para humillarse al dolor.

(Aiarga la mano, y alcanza la cabeza de Nuño Salido, y desmáyase con ella.)

ALMANZOR

Tened, que da otra caída.

BUSTOS

Arredravosme de aquí,
No cuidéis moros, por dicha,
Que es tan menguada mi prez
Dejéisme por vuesa vida.
Que en Córdoba os he hallado
Don Nuño, gran mal semejo,
¿ Qué es de mis hijos, buen viejo?
¿ Dónde los habéis dejado?
Boca buena, responded,

bella », whose dream that she will become the ancestress of a long and honourable dynasty is fulfilled by her marriage

Háblame, lengua sincera,
Que si la Fe se perdiera
Se hallara en vos la Fe.
Estad a cuentas conmigo
En el mi traspaso amargo
Siete hijos es el cargo.
¿Qué dais por descargo, amigo?
Vos cuidando ser estrecha
La cuenta de entre los dos
Apelastes para Dios,
Pero no vos aprovecha.
Que yo del dolor que siento
Iré sin mucho tardar,
Al alcance el esquitar
Delante su acatamiento
No cuidéis ser pastor
Que en matando la oveja
Apaga con la pelleja
La calofía del señor.
Sólo tenéis un derecho
Contra de mí, triste yo,
Que el lobo que os las mató
Lo mismo de vos ha hecho.
Y así, sólo os notefico
En la mi necesidad,
Que me digáis la verdad,
Como murió Gonzalvico.
Que yo también, mal pecado,
Lo confieso en tal sazón,
Almanzor, mis hijos son
Los que me habéis enseñado.
Suer González el mayor
Es este, y Martín va luego,
Este es Fernando, aquel Diego.
Y este es Rodrigo, señor.
Aqueste, señor, don Bustos,
Y este es el prez de los Godos,

with Mudarra¹. Beyond the fact of her existence, however, there is nothing here to suggest Kerima, and, as will be seen, there were other suggestions elsewhere.

The author of the *Moro Expósito*, is also thought to have known the *Gran Tragedia* because of the supposed similarity of the scene where, in the latter, Mudarra meets Rui-Velázquez escaping and learns of the vision which he had of the *infantes*². It will be well to reproduce the passage of Hurtado as it stands :

MUDARRA

Como te saliste, vil
Huyendo de la ciudad;

Gonzalo el menor de todos,
Y el mayor para mi gusto.
Ay, cabezas, triste yo,
Y en sino triste nacido,
Que en el corte he conocido
El cuchillo que os cortó.
O hidalgo con falsía.

ALMANZOR

Apártaselas de ahí.
(*Apártalas Viara.*)

1.

DURDINA

Pues buen, Conde, ya se ha hecho
El extraño natural.
Que ya sabéis que soñé
Que de un moro de alta guisa
Tinta en sangre una divisa,
Y tornadizo a la fe,
Y de mí por santos modos
Vendrían hijos que honorasen,
Y sobre el cielo empinasen
El renombre de los Godos.

2. *Moro Expósito*, ed. cit., p. 437.

Mas quien h̃izo tal maldad
Hará cuatrocientas mil.

RUY

Quiero hacerme de fuerte
Moro astroso por sacarte
En esta encelada aparte
Para mejor darte muerte.

MUDARRA

Pocas palabras.

RUY

O aieve

Cuerpo a cuerpo me pediste
Campo, ¿para qué trujiste
Ocho para mí, y tú nueve?

MUDARRA

O nigromántico fiero,
¿Qué dices?

RUY

Sedme testigos,

Cielos, que nueve enemigos
Son en mi contra, o artero
Vente solo para mí
Arriedra la tu cuadrilla,
Acata que te amancilla
Venir en mi contra así.

MUDARRA

Válgate el demonio el hombre,
Quiero volver a mirarme;
Traidor, quieres asombrarme,
Pues no hay cosa que me asombre.

RUY

O malino a los tus lados
Los tienes, y quies celarlos.

¿Tu no ves ocho caballos,
Y siete mozos armados?
¿Y un cano delante dellos,
Cada cual con la su espada,
La su persona iniestada,
Y herizados los cabellos?

MUDARRA

¿Santo Ala, es ésta ilusión?
Mas por tu santa deidad
Que debe de ser verdad,
Que mis siete hermanos son,
Que imágenes horrendas
A sus ojos se presentan,
Sin considerar que afrentan
En tal ocasión mis prendas.
Y si es así, hermanos caros,
Por cuanto a buenos debéis,
Que os vais, y que me dejéis,
Que sólo sabré vengaros.
Mirad que afrenta sería
Trato doble, fraude y dolo,
Para mi enemigo solo
Venir yo con compañía.
Por mi sangre, y vuestra fe,
Por Alá terrible, y santo,
No le mate vuestro espanto,
Que yo me le mataré.
Y si de mí no os fiáis
Almas, como escarmentadas,
Envainad vuestras espadas,
Veréis lo que deseáis.
Don Nuño si vos me oís
Y entre almas ledas o tristes,
Como los cuerpos registes,
También las almas regís.
Repartid entre mí y ellos
Esta empresa, y advertí
Que el cuerpo me toca a mí,
Y el alma le toca a ellos.

Vuestra justicia me valga,
Y ese prodigio estupendo
Mátele el alma en saliendo,
Que yo haré por do salga.

RUY

O marrano, en contra vas
De tu buena fama, aleve,
Yo voy huyendo de nueve.

(*Vase.*)

MUDARRA

Que yo solo soy no más.

(*Vase tras él.*)

This scene is quoted thus fully for the interest of comparison, but there are no verbal similarities, and the allegation of Rivas' debt to Hurtado is founded upon the *fact* of the vision purely and simply. The passage of the *Moro Expósito* is :

Se figura

Una vez que hacia tras el rostro torna,
Que sobre siete ciervos descarnados
Siete esqueletos horribos lo acosan,
Y que los Laras son ¹.

This passage, in our view, might well have arisen from Rivas' imagination, and its double occurrence have been a coincidence. Or again, it might have been suggested by the second play under consideration : Lope de Vega's *El Bastardo Mudarra* (1612).

In this play Ruy Velázquez is made to say, before Mudarra enters in the last act :

Quiérome aquí recostar
Aunque las congojas mías

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 437

No dan al sueño lugar,
Porque todos estos días
He dado en imaginar.

Traigo presente a mis ojos
La muerte de mis sobrinos
Y sus ardientes despojos,
Que por diversos caminos
Mezcla temores a enojos.

Paréceme que los veo
Al punto que solo estoy,
Y por no verlos rodeo;
Las sombras que viendo voy,
Como las verdades creo.

Allí Nuño se presenta
Todo roto y desarmado;
Allí Fernando, sangrienta
La cara; allí Ordoño airado
De mi rigor se lamenta;

Allí Gonzalo el menor
Parece que me acomete
Y que me llama traidor;
Finalmente, todos siete
Me están poniendo temor.

Dejadme, imaginaciones;
Alma, ¿para qué me pones
En tan tristes fantasías?

(Salen Mudarra, Lope y Zayde.)

This passage seems at least as likely to have inspired Rivas as that in Hurtado¹, and it does away with the necessity for supposing that he knew Hurtado at all.

1. Menéndez Pelayo (*Obras de Lope de Vega*, Vol. VII, p. ccxxx1) takes Lope's scene as having been imitated and improved upon by Hurtado, the exact date of Hurtado's work being uncertain.

On other grounds we ourselves see no reason for supposing that Lope's play was known to Rivas, apart from the somewhat slender thread of external evidence, that Frere lent Rivas some of Lope's plays in Malta! A study of the comparative table in the appendix will show that not a single distinctive trait of the plot of the *Moro Expósito* is found solely in Lope's play, and further that in more than one place (notably in the recognition scene) the *Bastardo Mudarra* is wholly at variance with the other versions, including Rivas'. It is perhaps worth noting that in this play, as in Hurtado's, a woman, other than Doña Lambra and Arlaja, plays a not unimportant part, and introduces a new minor interest; the lady in this case, however, Doña Constanza, who is in love with young Gonzalo and re-appears after his death, — has no more likeness to Kerima than has Hurtado's Doña Durdina.

This concludes our examination of the certain and possible Spanish sources of the *Moro Expósito* — an examination not altogether satisfactory, owing to the great number of similar versions of the story, which are not likely to permit of an entirely definite conclusion ever being reached¹. We may now look very briefly at Rivas' many innovations, and

1. Not so definite a conclusion, for instance, as Menéndez y Pelayo arrives at and lays down categorically thus : « El Duque no se remontó a las fuentes primitivas, no leyó la *Crónica general*, y aun de los romances hizo muy poco uso, y ninguno de la comedia de Lope de Vega, prefiriendo la de Matos Fragoso, que le sirvió bastante; si bien en la grandiosa escena de los espectros tuvo el feliz pensamiento de seguir a Hurtado de Velarde, cuya rarísima pieza había puesto en sus manos su amigo inglés Mr. Frere durante su residencia en Malta. » (*Op. cit.*, p. ccxxxv.) The positiveness of the concluding statement takes the breath away from one who has searched without finding any trace of such a significant fact — if fact it be. It is surely a gratuitous assumption, since no source is cited.

see wherein consists the originality of his plot: the nature of his treatment of character and the various elements in which he is supremely original will become sufficiently evident from the succeeding sections.

His originality of treatment was to some extent demanded by the nature of his work. He was not writing a prose history or chronicle, in which fact had to be weeded out from fiction and related concisely and clearly. Nor was he writing a drama, which would have demanded a certain unity of action, and compression, as often as expansion, of the material worked upon. The *Moro Expósito* was to be something of an epic, — a *género*, that is, in which the length was bounded only by the reader's estimated capacity for endurance, and digressions, far from being a flaw, were accounted rather a merit, if not an essential. So we find lengthy episodes like Nuño's rather wearisome account of his travels in Egypt and Palestine, and the almost canto-long history of the troubles of Rui-Velázquez, introduced without the least attempt at compression.

The second fact which helps to account for Rivas' many changes is his shifting of the centre of interest. The original plot, as we find it in Hurtado, Matos Fragoso or Lope de Vega, was a bad one from the dramatic point of view, in that it divides the play sharply into two parts, with an interval of time between them as long as in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*. That such a plot does not make success impossible is evident from this Shakespearian example alone. There was a worse flaw in it than this. In the early part of the play our interest centres almost entirely in Lara's seven sons — and the youngest son in particular: the second part sees these heroes slain and a youth reigning in their stead who in the first was not even born. Such a state of things is to the modern mind inartistic in the extreme. Rivas had two alternatives if he was to keep to the main lines of

the plot : either the centre of interest must be in Lara, who figures conspicuously in both parts of the plot, or Mudarra must be given the principal place and the plot must be altered accordingly.

Whether Rivas did well in adopting the second expedient is a matter on which there may be two opinions : that he did adopt it is evident. The title of the poem is supplied by the « foundling Moor » ; he figures in the opening scene, and thence onward occupies the principal position until he emerges at the end of the story with all the honours of the hero. In a later section we shall see how Rivas treated his hero's character as he found it (together with the characters of others) : let us see now how he altered his plot.

Clearly the principal difficulty was that the most exciting and attractive episode in the story — the betrayal and murder of the seven sons of Lara — happened before the hero was born : so great a disadvantage was this that we may almost wonder at Rivas' persistence in his plan. The only course open was to sacrifice much, or at least some, of the interest, to make the early part of the poem short by comparison with the rest, and to have the story of the seven sons by some artifice related to Mudarra.

This Rivas did. The first two acts of the plays are related in four cantos or less of the *Moro Expósito*, while the last act becomes the eight cantos which remain. The attractive figure of Zaide, the narrator, is introduced, and the narration placed in a suitable setting. The great length of the poem (are some of the later digressions inserted merely to give the correct balance?) permits Zaide to unburden his prodigious memory of much detail : the narrative of the jousts at the wedding of Rui-Velázquez and what follows, for example, is as full as in the plays, and the details respecting Alvar Sánchez are even more so. But the stirring (and fictitious) scenes which prelude the murder of the *infantes* have per-

force to be omitted ¹, not merely for reasons of length but because the narrator was not present and is unlikely to have gleaned detailed accounts from others. The early mutual attraction of Lara and Almanzor's sister, of which Hurtado and Matos Fragoso make so much, is also omitted ², and the meetings of the two in Lara's prison are described with comparative brevity ³.

1. The actual murder, so full of dramatic possibilities, is passed over by Rivas, and the *infantes* are dismissed thus :

Los siete hermanos, ¡miseros! principio
A su noble venganza heroico dieran :
Todo a sus lanzas invencibles cede,
Y todo sus caballos lo atropellan;
Mas ni una sola voz ni un solo paso
Daban, sin que al momento lo supiera
El sagaz Abdalá, feroz guerrero,
A quien Giafar mandara a toda priesa
A observarlos astuto y destruirlos,
Con órdenes atroces y secretas,
¡Dos traidores ganados por Velázquez
Los confidentes de sus planes eran! (P. 160.)

2. The attraction which Lara exercises over Zahira is described thus in five lines (pp. 168-9) :

...Le admiró cuando vino a estas riberas,
Concibiendo al mirarle el entusiasmo
Que en las almas sensibles, en las hembras
De estima y de valor, la vista sólo
De un héroe generoso al punto engendra.

3. Penetró, pues, en la mazmorra oscura
Donde yacía Lara, y su presencia,
Cual la de un numen celestial tornara
En luz consoladora las tinieblas.

Al cabo convirtiéndose aquel recinto,
Mansión de horrores, llantos y miserias,
En templo del amor, de amor sublime,
De amor que concertaron las estrellas,
De amor que te dió el ser... (Pp. 169-170.)

Rivas' additions begin after Mudarra has determined upon revenge. He has been forced to diminish the interest of an event which was the dramatic climax of the play or plays which he used, while leaving it sufficient force to stimulate the reader's expectations. These same expectations he has now to satisfy, with what, it must be allowed, is meagre enough material. Apart from Hurtado's possible gift of the ghost scene, he merely has Mudarra's discovery of his father, his encounter with his somewhat uninteresting enemy, and the fight, in which Mudarra has of course to gain a victory which every one of his readers will anticipate. It is not a promising basis for the major portion of a long romance.

The exigencies of Rivas' position are responsible, in our view, for practically all his additions after the end of Canto V. Or alternatively, it may be that he deliberately altered the construction of the original story in order to allow himself this freedom. For here his imagination gets free play. The description of Lara's palace and the carefully worked-up emotional presentation of his return to it, in his old age and blindness, recapture our interest from the beginning. The scenes centring round the recognition are full of vigour and reality. The eighth and ninth cantos endeavour to interest us in Mudarra's opponent, who up to this point has been completely overshadowed by Giafar¹. The retrospective digression, however, is less potent here than the

1. Sr. Menéndez Pidal (*op. cit.*, p. 164) thinks that Giafar weakens the interest in Rui-Velázquez and almost implies that his introduction was a strategic error on Rivas' part. But on the other hand it must be remembered that Giafar strengthens both Kerima and Mudarra by force of antithesis, as well as lending verisimilitude to the story of the Seven Heads. Some kind of villain was indispensable in the early part of the story, and the « narrated » villainy of Rui-Velázquez would have been a poor substitute for the machinations of Giafar.

expedients to which Rui-Velazquez' fears impel him, for these raise in the reader's mind two real problems : first, will he succeed in escaping the combat or no? and secondly, will he, by supernatural means, find some way of gaining an unmerited victory? The former of these problems, if not the latter, is a real one, and throughout the whole of the tenth canto, as well as during the eighth and the ninth, the issues of both are in doubt.

After using (or inventing) the apparition-scene, Rivas breaks away entirely from his sources, in which Rui-Velázquez meets Mudarra, and (mainly for dramatic reasons¹) is killed by him, after a struggle, on the spot. The hermitage scene, as we shall in a moment see, may well have been suggested by Scott. But the writer of a long verse romance would need no external suggestion to conclude his narrative with the pomp and circumstance of a duel. Rivas' skill is shown rather in his prolonging the first problem long after the second has been resolved. Once the two combatants meet face to face in the last canto, every reader knows what the result will be and interest falls to zero. By the long delay of Rui-Velázquez' arrival in the lists the emotional tension is increased and the interest raised to its maximum before it finally descends. No suggestion of all this was in any of Rivas' sources.

Finally, in order to add yet one more interest to the main part of his plot, — and that the love interest, which seldom fails, — Rivas goes beyond his sources in creating Kerima. Her character and *rôle* we shall discuss in a later section, but Sr. Menéndez Pidal's remark may at least be quoted here that while in Lope's *Doña Clara* and Hurtado's *Doña Durdina* there are suggestions of Kerima, she is undoubtedly more realistic than either.

1. But see, in Appendix I, the conclusion in the *Crónica general*.

IV

Scott and the Moro Expósito. — Rivas as the « Walter Scott of Spain ».
— The influence of *Ivanhoe* on characterisation, incident and description. — Possible influence of the *Pirate*, the *Talisman* and *Guy Mannering*¹.

On November 22 1831, Sir Walter Scott landed at Malta, where he had come to pay a short visit, remaining in the island for some three weeks, until December 14². Had he come rather less than two years earlier he would have found there Angel de Saavedra, — an admirable companion, with a considerable command of the English language, a deep attachment for everything British, and in particular a certain degree of hero-worship for Sir Walter Scott himself. It is not impossible that had Scott had that good fortune his stay in Malta might have been a longer one.

The effect which such a meeting would have produced upon Saavedra it is difficult to imagine. Throughout those long months and years of exile, when he was planning the *Moro Expósito*, Frere must have talked to him of Scott and his romances, and lent him volume after volume to read

1. References are to the Large Type Border Edition of the Waverley Novels throughout (ed. Lang, Nimmo, 1898) and to Vol. III of Rivas' works in the *Colección de escritores castellanos*, 1894-1904.

2. See Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (ed. 1851), Vol. X, pp. 125 ff.

for his interest and pleasure. Whether or no it was the reading of *Marmion* or *The Lord of the Isles* which determined Saavedra to write an historical verse romance of the tenth century, it would hardly be possible that he should not have been influenced by Scott in the actual writing of it, though the poems might well play a more modest part here than the far greater novels. The plot of the *Moro Expósito* may have come from Mariana, Lope, Hurtado, Matos Fragoso — but what of the digressions, the embellishments, the descriptions, which have a thousand times more significance and merit than has the mere outline of the story?

Various of Rivas' contemporary critics — Enrique Gil¹, Charles de Mazade², Juan Valera³, for example — have made general comparisons between Rivas and Scott, too general and with too many qualifications to carry much conviction. „ Le duc de Rivas a mérité d'être appelé le Walter Scott de l'Espagne moderne » — Mazade's contribution — represents their position. One critic compares Rivas' temperament and outlook on life with Scott's; another sees affinities of imagination between the two writers; another insists upon the obvious fact that both were attracted by the Middle Ages. And even these superficial comparisons suggest to the critics contrasts even more striking, most of them to the disadvantage of Rivas. He has not Scott's skill of construction, nor his art of portraying a character and a whole age with equal success, nor his knowledge of human nature, nor his technical ability as a story-teller. Perhaps had these Spanish writers known their Scott better

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1. See Works (ed. Vera e Isla, Madrid, 1883), Vol. II, p. 150, for an article reprinted from *El Pensamiento*, 1841.

2. See *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1846, pp. 342-3.

3. See *Revista española de ambos mundos*, Vol. II, 1854, pp. 619-20; vol. XXVII of Collected Works, 108.

they might have compared his historical inaccuracies, his carelessness of style and his notable lack of subtlety with Rivas', for in those points the two are strikingly alike. On the credit side their common love for the picturesque, their Romantic fondness for colour and their no less Romantic delight in striking antitheses would form the subject of an interesting essay. A critic might be forgiven too, for looking somewhat askance at their presentation of the past, — quite apart from definite anachronisms, — and for comparing Rivas with Scott very closely in the extent to which they were here their own worst enemies. But such general considerations are somewhat beside the point, for Rivas was not in any serious sense the « Walter Scott of Spain » at all, and to modern ears the comparison sounds crude and unnatural.

Our task in this section is a more concrete and satisfactory one : to examine the use which Rivas made of Scott in writing the *Moro Expósito*, — and we prefer the word « use » to « influence » because of a suggestive passage in which Rivas many years later spoke of Scott as « father of the historical romance » and « the only model » for those who would write such romances. Any reader of those lines may be forgiven if he dreams of Scott while reading the *Moro Expósito*.

In a recent article upon the influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain¹ it was shown that *Ivanhoe* was the most popular of Scott's novels before 1834, no less than five Spanish translations, and possibly more, having existed at that date. It is with *Ivanhoe* that the *Moro Expósito* is most nearly rela-

1. See *Revue hispanique*, Vol. LV. « A Survey of the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain », by Philip H. Churchman and E. Allison Peers.

ted¹. It would appear that Rivas had been reading this novel at or about the time when he was writing the first part of his romance, and that, consciously or not, he appropriated detail from *Ivanhoe*, using it in places where, by pure chance, his plot resembled that of the novel. It may be said by readers of what now follows that the verbal resemblances are comparatively few, and that the conventions of the historical romance will explain many similarities. This is quite true; yet, when every possible allowance has been made, the residuum of evidence for direct influence is too large to permit of any other conclusion than the conscious use of *Ivanhoe* by Rivas.

Similarities of characterisation may occupy us first. It would be too much to assert that Scott's Rebecca, — a non-Christian girl in a Christian environment, playing a prominent part in the love interest of the story — suggested the introduction of Kerima, since in the Spanish sources there were already suggestions, though slight ones, of such a character. But between the two women as portrayed there are striking resemblances. Both are supposed to possess supernatural powers of healing, which both use in succouring the hero. Kerima's « deseo de consolar la humanidad doliente » may be likened to Rebecca's healing of people of all creeds and classes. As the one enjoys great fame (*nombradía*) so the other is revered universally by her own tribe. To each comes love, but bringing with it only sorrow,

1. I am occasionally indebted in the following estimate to some manuscript notes which are the result of the reading of Professor R. L. Owen of the University of Kansas, U. S. A. and which he has kindly allowed me to select from and incorporate in this section. Professor Owen's estimate is however somewhat less conservative than mine and this chapter must not be taken in any way as necessarily representing his views.

for each is compelled to renounce the man she loves and retires from active life with life's longing unsatisfied, yet dedicating herself to God ¹.

The member of a religious order, attached rather to the pleasures (not to say excesses) of this world than to the rules of his society, is a favourite type for satire, both genial and fierce, in the historical romance. Nevertheless we may note an unusually close similarity between the greedy abbot of Canto X in the *Moro Expósito*,

... el potente Abad, que con gran pompa
Va detrás de su grey, bien abrigadas
Frente y orejas bajo negra gorra,
Y el cuerpo en un forrado y rico manto
De nobles pliegues y de luenga cola ²,

and the Prior of Jorvaulx with his mantle and hood « of the best Flanders cloth », his sleeves « lined and turned up with rich furs » and his « well-fed ambling mule, whose furniture was highly decorated, and whose bridle, according to the fashion of the day, was ornamented with silver bells ³ ». Rivas' abbot rules, like Prior Aymer, over a community enriched by the gifts of wealthy penitents; like him, he is timid in times of danger, but quickly becomes serene and dignified again when all is calm.

A third character from *Ivanhoe* who appears in the *Moro Expósito* is the giant Alvaro Sánchez, « enardecido y orgulloso »

1. *Iv.*, p. 650; *M. E.*, p. 586. A convent is mentioned in each passage, and in spite of obvious and inevitable differences between the two episodes it may well be that Rivas' *finale* (which many, as we have seen, think highly unsatisfactory) was suggested to him by *Ivanhoe*.

2. *M. E.*, 458.

3. *Iv.*, 14-15 ff.

El gigante orgulloso, Alvaro Sánchez,
Sobresalía entre los otros cuatro,
Como alta torre entre los altos muros,
Una fornida lanza manejando ¹.

There is authority for Alvaro Sánchez in the chronicles and plays whence the *Moro Expósito* derives, but none for making him a giant; he may well be a reproduction, therefore, of « the gigantic Front-de-Bœuf » who appears in the lists bearing « on a white shield a black bull's head, half defaced by the numerous encounters which he had undergone, and bearing the arrogant motto, *Cave, Adsum* ² ». Later in the novel the giant is described in a manner almost as realistic and repulsive as any Rivas ever achieved ³.

To pass from characterisation to action, we may study Rivas' debt to *Ivanhoe* somewhat intensively in two important events, each of which occurs in both prose and verse romances. The first is the Tournament ⁴, which in each narrative is held in a large open space, crowded with spectators. Those of gentle birth sit in temporary galleries, while the general public is accommodated below. In the « supremos sillones » of one balcony is to be found Count Sancho, — corresponding to Prince John — who is attended by an archbishop, as John is accompanied by the rich Prior of Jorvaulx. In the midst of the clamour before the tournament begins, the

1. *M. E.*, 116.

2. *Iv.*, 118-9.

3. *Iv.*, 280-1.

4. *Iv.*, 88 ff., 162 ff. *M. E.*, 114 ff.. The part that convention and usage play in such descriptions as these, however, must be borne in mind throughout. A few similarities such as those quoted above but occurring outside the main narrative, and quite conventional, are not here quoted. The reader may compare, if he will, as one example : *Iv.*, 173, ll, 4-10; *M. E.*, 36, ll : 4-6.

seven Infantes are riding up and down in the lists ¹; just so do John and his numerous train upon their entry ². After the « clangour of the trumpets (« los recios sonos de timbales y trompas ») and the heralds' proclamations, the lists are entered by five challengers bearing lances (in each narrative) one of whom is recognised as leader.

Alvar Sánchez overthrows twelve of his opponents; the challengers in *Ivanhoe* are also victors. There is a pause, for it did not seem « that anyone was very desirous of renewing the contest ³ ». In Scott's narrative the refusal of Athelstane to « take the lance » gives the fool Wamba an opportunity for sarcasm ⁴, while the challengers' music and the heralds' proclamations fill up the interval. In the poem, Doña Lambra's jester occupies the time, and diverts the vulgar, with his merry antics.

Presently, however, a single champion enters, announced in each narrative by trumpets.

At length, as the Saracenic music of the challengers concluded one of those long and high flourishes with which they had broken the silence of the lists, it was answered by a solitary trumpet, which breathed a note

Cuando las huecas trompas y
[timbales
Con general contento resonaron,
La llegada anunciando de un
[guerrero
Que viene a combatir. Por los
[tablados

1. *M. E.*, 115.

Los siete Infantes, con lucidas galas,
Y con gallardas plumas muy bizarros
Andaban recorriendo, entre el bullicio,
La extensa plaza, pórticos y andamios.

2. *Iv.*, 95 : « Prince John, upon a grey and high-mettled palfrey, caracoled within the lists at the head of his jovial party. »

3. *Iv.*, 112.

4. *Iv.*, 113.

of defiance from the northern extremity. All eyes were turned to see the new champion which these sounds announced, and no sooner were the barriers opened than he paced into the lists ¹.

Cundió el rumor confuso de gran [pueblo,
Que se fué nuevamente acomo- [dando,
Y que hundióse en silencio al [punto mismo
Que el nuevo guerreador entró en el campo ².

The newcomer is an unknown knight, who seeks to challenge the leader of the victorious party. A commanding and graceful figure, he at once wins the favour of all :

The dexterity with which he managed his steed, and something of youthful grace which he displayed in his manner won him the favour of the multitude ³.

Eran tales su gracia y gentileza,
Tanta la habilidad, soltura y [garbo
Con que regía el pisador, y tales
Su noble talle y cabalgar ga- [llardo ⁴...

Ivanhoe's feats of horsemanship « attract the applause of the multitude ⁵ »; Gonzalo continues « haciendo pruebas Del poder y obediencia del caballo ⁶ ». His identity is, from his very prowess, guessed by many, though none will declare it ⁷; Ivanhoe's, on the other hand, remains a secret. Otherwise the narratives still run parallel. In both novel and poem the mob shouts advice and encouragement to the unknown knight. Bois-Guilbert boasts to him as Alvar Sánchez had boasted at an earlier stage of the tournament.

1. *Iv.*, 114.

2. *M. E.*, 119.

3. *Iv.*, 114.

4. *M. E.*, 119.

5. *Iv.*, 115.

6. *M. E.*, 120.

7. *M. E.*, 120. « No hubo un labio

Que imprudente su nombre pronunciase. »

The vast multitude is now hushed by excitement, to such an extent that no one dares to breathe.

The clamour of applause was hushed into a silence so deep and so dead that it seemed the multitude were afraid even to breathe ¹.	Mientras la muchedumbre en [gran silencio, Ni aun osa respirar de miedo y [pasma ².
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The narratives then continue in this way :

The trumpets had no sooner given the signal, than the champions vanished from their posts with the speed of lightning, and closed in the centre of the lists with the shock of a thunderbolt. The lances burst into shivers up to the very grasp, and it seemed at the moment that both knights had fallen, for the shock had made each horse recoil backwards upon its haunches... [Each knight] made a demi-volte, and, retiring to the extremity of the lists, received a fresh lance from the attendants ³.	Sonó el clarín; partieron como [flechas Sánchez y el caballero; se en- [contraron, Y en el opuesto escudo cada [lanza Tocó, dió lumbre, y resbaló, [dejando Honda señal. Los potros revol- [vieron, Ambas picas rompiéronse en pe- [dazos : Continuaron con otras el com- [bate, Y pretal con pretal al fin se hallaron ⁴.
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The second encounter sees the opponent of each unknown knight unhorsed, and, « stung with madness ⁵ » (« denuestos vomitando contra su vencedor ⁶ ») each of the vanquished

1. *Iv.*, 177.

2. *M. E.*, 121. The two passages do not occur at exactly the same point in the narrative, though very nearly so.

3. *Iv.*, 116.

4. *M. E.*, 121.

5. *Iv.*, 117.

6. *M. E.*, 122.

knights unsheathes his sword to continue the fight. The marshals in *Ivanhoe* intervene, reminding the combatants that this is not permitted by the laws of the tournament ¹, while in the *Moro Expósito* :

El joven reclamó las condiciones;
Pide lo mismo el pueblo en gritos altos,
Y todo es confusión. Luego a la arena
Los jueces descendieron de su escaño,
Y declaran que está Sánchez vencido ²...

Ivanhoe then fights the four remaining challengers; Gonzalo, for his part, has already fought two and prepares to encounter the two who are left. At this point only the path followed by Rivas diverges from Scott's.

The second event in which Rivas seems to have followed Scott very closely is the trial by combat, which occurs near the end of each romance. Bois-Guilbert is a very different man from Rui-Velázquez, yet in this combat he plays like him the part of villain and vanquished; like Rui-Velázquez, too, he will only fight because honour and reputation are involved. Further, the description of his overtures to Rebecca between the challenge and the duel might be held to have suggested Rui-Velázquez' panic, were not the literary basis of this to be found in Rivas' Spanish sources ³. There is room, nevertheless, for Scott's influence even here ⁴.

1. *Iv.*, 118

2. *M. E.*, 122-3.

3. See pp. 255 ff. above.

4. Professor Owen writes : « The ninth and tenth cantos of the poem are largely concerned with the trouble and distress of mind, increasing finally to superstitious terror, of Rui-Velázquez before the combat, comparable to, although more excessive than the mental agony of Bois-Guilbert after he has undertaken the gage of battle against Rebecca. » The reader may best judge after reading chap-

The resemblances in the accounts of the trial by combat are more often attributable to convention than in the narratives of the tournament, and it will be remembered that the narrative in each romance is much shorter. In each there is a vast concourse of spectators; the enclosure is again in the open air, « amply supplied with galleries and benches »

ter xxxix of *Ivanhoe*, if the emotions of the two men are comparable. To me they seem quite distinct, and I prefer to diverge from Professor Owen on this point. It may, however, in fairness be pointed out that Bois-Guilbert's face, when he appears in the lists, is described as bearing « a strong and mingled expression of passion, in which pride seemed to contend with irresolution. He looked ghastly pale, as if he had not slept for several nights. Looking at him with attention, men read that in his dark features from which they willingly withdrew their eyes. » (Chapter XLIV, p. 625.)

We have also in *Ivanhoe* (Chapter xxxi, p. 406) a passage describing Front-de-Bœuf's mental state on his death-bed which might well be compared in a general way with the descriptions of Rui-Velázquez' condition before the battle. I do not, however, press anything more than coincidence here :

« But the moment had now arrived when earth and all his treasures were gliding from before his eyes, and when the savage Baron's heart, though hard as a nether millstone, became appalled as he gazed forward into the waste darkness of futurity. The fever of his body aided the impatience and agony of his mind, and his death-bed exhibited a mixture of the newly-awakened feelings of horror, combating with the fixed and inveterate obstinacy of his disposition; — a fearful state of mind, only to be equalled in those tremendous regions, where there are complaints without hope, remorse without repentance, a dreadful sense of present agony, and a presentiment that it cannot cease or be diminished ! »

Cf. *M. E.*, *passim*, e. g.

Es un malvado en fin, a quien abruma
Sus crímenes horrendos y crueldades.

His past is a « hondo mar de traiciones y maldades »; he is doomed to suffer « muerte, infamia y tormentos sin fin ».

I. *Iv.*, 619 ff.; *M. E.*, 481 ff.

(« tablones, andamios y barreras »). The Grand Master in *Ivanhoe* has a throne « surrounded with seats of distinction » not unlike the « alto sillón bajo el dosel », occupied by Count Fernán González, who presides at Burgos, surrounded by « ricos-hombres... prelados y alcaides ». There is in each narrative a procession in double file, in which one of the champions figures. The ground is examined by the heralds, who in almost identical terms warn non-combatants in the usual way against entering the lists or disturbing the combat. In each narrative, again, occurs so long a delay before the second warrior appears, that his coming is all but despaired of. At last voices announce his arrival; he rides into the lists, and after the customary preliminaries the duel begins.

Some scattered points of resemblance also occur between the tournament in Chapter VIII of *Ivanhoe* already described and the duel between Mudarra and Rui-Velázquez. They are as follow ;

The spectators quarrel over the seats before the contest begins :

Meanwhile, spectators of every description thronged to occupy their respective stations, and not without many quarrels concerning those which they were entitled to hold ¹.

En tablones, andamios y barreras
[reras
La multitud se agolpa, se disputa
[puta
Escaso asiento, vase acomodando,
Y una masa compacta... forma ².

The champions (as in Rivas' earlier jousts) « vanished from their posts with the speed of lightning ³ ». — « Entrambos combatientes como rayos Parten ⁴. »

1. *Iv.*, 91-2.

2. *M. E.*, 482

3. *Iv.*, 116.

4. *M. E.*, 496.

During the Spanish combat Mudarra kills Rui-Velázquez, horse from under him ¹, an incident not unlike the hamstringing of the Blue Knight's horse during the attack on King Richard disguised as the Knight of the Fetterlock ². At the end of the fight Mudarra swoons, and is taken charge of by the non-Christian Kerima; Ivanhoe also faints and is similarly succoured by the Jewess Rebecca. The effect on the spectators is identical.

There was a general consternation ³.

El entusiasmo universal se muda
En repentino horror y helado es-
[panto,
En inacción de muerte y en an-
[gustia ⁴.

Hard as it is to believe that Rivas wrote his description of the jousts and the final duel without *Ivanhoe* by his side, it will be even harder to reject the cumulative evidence of the corroborative details which follow. Throughout novel and poem we come across such testimony, of which the principal instances must be given.

When Ivanhoe returns home after a long absence, the swine-herd in his father's household becomes his faithful follower ⁵. So Mudarra finds a devoted attendant in the *podenquero* Vasco Pérez, when he goes to Salas ⁶. A more striking similarity connected with Ivanhoe occurs in the early part of each narrative. It will be remembered that the assumed palmer presents a relic of the True Cross as security for the hero :

1. *Iv.*, 579.

2. *M. E.*, 500.

3. *Iv.*, 174.

4. *M. E.*, 505.

5. *Iv.*, Chap. vi.

6. *M. E.*, Canto VIII.

« If Ivanhoe ever returns from Palestine, I will be his surety that he meets you. »

« A goodly security! » said the Knight Templar; « and what do you proffer as a pledge? »

« This reliquary » said the Palmer, taking a small ivory box from his bosom, and crossing himself, « containing a portion of the true cross, brought from the Monastery of Mount Carmel¹ »

Now in the *Moro Expósito* there is a pilgrim² — entirely a gratuitous character — who gives Lara a reliquary containing a sacred piece of wood, no doubt a chip from the same (or another!) True Cross. It is hard to think that Rivas has not copied Scott in these lines :

Un peregrino que asistió a la mesa
Griego, según el traje, penetrando
Hasta do estaba Gustios y sus hijos,
Desprendióse del cuello un relicario,
Que una astilla de leño contenía,
Imperceptible casi, y con extraño
Lenguaje prorrumpió : *Dios me concede*
A la hospitalidad mostrarme grato.

Dijo, y colgóla al pecho del mancebo,
Quien reverente la llevó a los labios;
Y con gran devoción, al verla, todos
Humildes a adorarla se postraron³.

Another episode in the *Moro Expósito* which has no coun-

1. *Iv.*, p. 62.

2. I do not attach any importance to the description of Nuño as a pilgrim (p. 230) for although it is not unlike that of Ivanhoe in pilgrim's dress in Chapter iv there is nothing whatever to suggest that the one is copied from the other. The coarse cloak, and the broad hat adorned with shells, were conventional traits of the pilgrim anywhere.

3. *M. E.*, pp. 110-111.

terpart in its Spanish sources, but occurs in *Ivanhoe*, is the burning of the castle (of Rui-Velázquez) and the attempt (in each case) to effect a rescue from the flames. This description Rivas, knowing well that a conflagration of the kind is as attractive in fiction as in life, inserted in his ninth canto as a pleasing digression. Both narratives are powerful and effective, and in places not unlike :

The smoke rolls thicker and thicker... The red fire flashes through the thick smoke ¹.

One turret was now in bright flames which floated out furiously from window and shot-hole. But in other parts, the great thickness of the walls, and the vaulted roofs of the apartments, resisted the progress of the flames ²...

The towering flames had now surmounted every obstruction, and rose to the evening skies one huge and burning beacon, seen far and wide through the adjacent country. Tower after tower crashed down, with blazing roof and rafter; and the combatants were driven from

Vió por las claraboyas derra-
[marse
Un rojo resplandor que iluminaba
El aposento, y empezó a tur-
[barle
El conocer que respiraba humo.

Y halla el palacio en combus-
[tión horrible,
Presa de ardientes llamas que
[voraces
Taladrando artesones y techum-
[bres,
Por las tinieblas lóbregas se es-
[parcen.

Y agitada del viento que se-
[plaba,
Corrió el incendio a pasos de
[gigante
Por todo el edificio. No respeta
Ni de las fuertes torres los sil-
[lares;
Alza hasta el alto cielo remo-
[linos

1. *Iv.*, 412.

2. *Iv.*, 425.

the courtyard... The victors...
gazed with wonder... upon the
flames, in which their own ranks
and arms glanced dusky red ¹.

De humo y de espesas chispas,
[que combaten
A los astros y ofuscan sus ful-
[gores.
Con luz siniestra iluminando
[valles
Y selvas y apartados caseríos.
Y en las lejanas cumbres desi-
[guals
Reflejando del último horizonte,
Cual suelen encendidos los vol-
[canes ².

In this connection, it may be that the vision of Ulrica on a turret during the fire suggested to Rivas that Elvida might be made to create a similar impression at the duel. Both sing songs of vengeance and death, which, however, are less significant than their demeanour :

Ulrica... appeared on a turret,
in the guise of one of the an-
cient furies, yelling forth a
warsong... Her long dishevelled
grey hair flew back from her
uncovered head; the inebriating
delight of gratified vengeance
contended in her eyes with the
fire of insanity; and she bran-
dished the distaff which she
held in her hand, as if she had
been one of the Fałal Sisters ³.

Una vieja espantable, cuya ropa...
Un negro manto y una toca
[sucia,
Todo en desorden y rasgado,
[añaden
De cosa de otro mundo a su fi-
[gura
La apariencia siniestra, y cuyos
[brazos
Secos, yertos, desnudos gesti-
[culan
De un modo amenazante. Sí,
[era Elvida
La nodriza infeliz, a quien, ca-
[duca,
De horror o de demencia ciego
[acceso

1. *Iv.*, 432.

2. *M. E.*, 386-7.

3. *Iv.*, 430.

The maniac figure of the Saxon Ulrica was for a long time visible on the lofty stand she had chosen, tossing her arms abroad with wild exultation, as if she reigned empress of the conflagration which she had raised. At length with a terrific crash, the whole turret gave way, and she perished in the flames which had consumed her tyrant ¹.

Agita en aquel punto y la con-
[turba.
Dando, pues a sus gritos la ca-
[dencia
De una canción vulgar, cantó
[convulsa
Con satánica voz luego estas
[coplas,
Horrorizando a la azorada turba:

No prosiguió la vieja, pues su
[canto
En carcajadas horribas se muda,
Luego en un alarido penetrante,
Y desapareció, como difunta
Cayendo desmayada ².

In connection with this part of the story it may be noted that Scott dwells upon the idea of a criminal's buying absolution from the Church — an idea which Rivas develops in his narrative of Rui-Velázquez. It has been said above ³ that Front-de-Bœuf's agony may have suggested, though it probably did not, Rui-Velázquez' state of mind; the probability is somewhat increased by the occurrence in its context of a passage like the following :

[Front-de-Bœuf] had not the usual resource of bigots in that superstitious period, most of whom were wont to atone for the crimes

1. *Iv.*, 432.

2. *M. E.*, 499-50. In the song we may note words which we have already found in Rivas and shall find again :

El infierno abre la boca
Para tragarle.

3. See, p. 285 above.

they were guilty of by liberality to the Church, stupefying by this means their terrors by the idea of atonement and forgiveness; and although the refuge which success thus purchased was no more like to the peace of mind which follows on sincere repentance than the turbid stupefaction procured by opium resembles healthy and natural slumbers, it was still a state of mind preferable to the agonies of awakened remorse. But among the vices of Front-de-Bœuf, a hard and griping man, avarice was predominant; and he preferred setting church and churchmen at defiance to purchasing from them pardon and absolution at the price of treasure and of manors ¹.

The probability is still further slightly increased by the fact already noticed that the burning of Rui-Velázquez' castle may be paralleled by the burning of Front-de-Bœuf's; the new parallel inclines one to believe that as Rivas wrote this part of his romance the corresponding part of *Ivanhoe* may have been consciously or sub-consciously present in his mind.

Among the less noticeable resemblances between *Ivanhoe* and the *Moro Expósito* may be mentioned briefly the use made by the authors of both of St. Bernard as an authority ², though not in the same connection. The attempt upon King Richard's life in the forest ³ may be compared with the waylaying of Mudarra in an oak forest near a ruined hermitage, the intended victims, as in *Ivanhoe*, frustrating the attempt ⁴. In spite of the difference between Friar Tuck and the hermit whom Rui-Velázquez visits, there are various slight but cumulatively noteworthy similarities of situation between this visit and that of the Black Knight to Friar Tuck ⁵. The feast at Coningsburgh Castle, realistically

1. *Iv.*, 405.

2. *Iv.*, 518; *M. E.*, 474.

3. *Iv.*, 577 ff.

4. *M. E.*, 411.

5. *Iv.*, 209 ff; *M. E.*, Romance X.

though less fully described than Rivas' famous feast ¹, may easily have suggested the latter to him. Finally, we have at the end of each romance a wedding ceremony, as well as the retirement of the woman who has won most of the reader's sympathy. Scott the Protestant prefers, however, to let his Catholic readers imagine what Rivas describes to them :

« The Church gave her full solemnities, graced with all the splendour which she of Rome knows how to apply with such brilliant effect ². »

Can it be, too, that Scott's influence over Rivas (or the stimulus of contrast to the latter's imagination) was so potent as to account for the transformation of some homely directions of Wamba's into that powerful scene where Rui-Velázquez visits abbey and hermitage :

« If the reverend fathers », he said, « loved good cheer and soft lodging, few miles of riding would carry them to the Priory of Brinxworth, where their quality could not but secure them the most honourable reception; or if they preferred spending a penitential evening, they might turn down yonder wild glade, where a pious anchoret would make them sharers for the night of the shelter of his roof and the benefit of his prayers ³. »

We think at once of those scenes (again scenes with no counterpart worth mentioning ⁴ in the Spanish plays or chronicles) where Rui-Velázquez is wandering on the moors on the eve of his fight with Mudarra, and at last bethinking him, first of the hermitage

1. *Iv.*, 597-8; *M. E.*

2. *Iv.*, 645.

3. *Iv.*, 22.

4. See, Appendix I, below.

Hay en estas montañas una ermita...
Do un solitario penitente mora ¹.

and then of the wealthy abbey with its « good cheer and soft lodging » where he gains the false assurance of success.

We have by this time travelled far into the realm of pure supposition, yet the cumulative evidence of the minor details, together with the striking comparisons of joust and duel, seems to us as conclusive internal proof as it is possible to have that Rivas had *Ivanhoe*, not merely in his mind, but on his table, when he composed the *Moro Expósito*.

Ivanhoe is not, however, the only one of the Waverley Novels which Rivas is conjectured to have used in fashioning his great romance. As early as May 23 1834 some Scott-lover, writing anonymously in the *Revista Española*, saw resemblances to the *Pirate*, the *Fair Maid of Perth* and the *Heart of Midlothian* ².

Notamos que el Sr. de Saavedra está empapado en la lectura de los románticos más afamados y en algunas ocasiones los imita con demasía. El carácter de Elvida tiene muchos puntos de semejanza con cosas del *Pirata* y de *las cárceles de Edimburgo* de Walter Scott; la equivocación nacida de un disfraz, que hace que quieran asesinar a Vasco Pérez en lugar de Mudarra, es parecida a una que hay en la *Linda doncella de Perth* o la *Festividad de San Valentín*, del mismo escritor escocés; pero el Sr. de Saavedra, aún imitando, tiene originalidad, y sabe sacar partido de los préstamos que contrae.

There is little if anything to be said for the influence of the last two novels; the case for the *Pirate*, however, is stronger, though by no means conclusive. While there is nothing which Rivas can be said to have certainly copied, there are indications of a possible debt to the novel in those reminis-

1. *M. E.*, 535.

2. Translated into Spanish as the *Cárceles de Edimburgo*.

cences of Norna of the Fitful-Head to which the critic refers, and in a number of other places beside.

It would be both pedantic and inartistic to insist on resemblances between Mordaunt and Mudarra in the passages where their respective characters are described¹, for they merely belong to the same well-known Romantic type. Nor can we derive Mudarra from Cleveland because both are ignorant of their families and the stories of their births and because each revenges his father. Yet Mudarra like Cleveland is loved by a girl in high position who has no knowledge of his ancestry. We have then a chance similarity of plot which might, as in *Ivanhoe*, have led Rivas to incorporate in his romance unessential details from the book also. So — on this supposition — we find Mudarra leaving Córdoba having killed Giafar, and Kerima's reason threatening to give way, just as Cleveland leaves Burgh-Westra, his hands stained with the blood of Mordaunt Merton, and Minna falling ill and her mind wandering. We may even carry this comparison to the extreme of quotation² :

To the friends around, her habits and manners, nay, her temper, seemed altered to such an extraordinary degree, that it is no wonder that some should have ascribed the change to witchcraft, and some to incipient madness... Generally she appeared wrapped in sad, and even sullen abstraction... The effects of the alternations of moping melancholy, fearful agitation, and bursts of nervous feeling, were soon visible on the poor young

¿Dónde las rosas
De sus tersas mejillas?...

[¿Dónde el brillo
De sus radiantes ojos?... De sus
labios,
¿Dónde el fresco carmín?

El cáncer destructor quedó en
[su alma,
Devorándola está furioso y vivo,
Y más y más ahondándose : su
[mente

1. Pp. 24-5; *M. E.*, 5, etc.

2. Pp. 408-10; *M. E.*, 208.

woman's face and person. She became pale and emaciated, her eye lost the steady, quiet look of happiness and innocence... Her very features seemed to change and become sharp and eager, and her voice which, in its ordinary tones, was low and placid, now sometimes sunk in indistinct mutterings and sometimes was raised beyond the natural key, in hasty and abrupt exclamations.

Desarreglada, su carácter mismo
Trocado lo demuestran. Vaga
Conserva de sus males... [idea

Ya su delirio
Es a todos patente. Aunque en
[silencio
Pasa los largos días, sus caprichos
Extraños, y el romper tal vez
[en lloro,
En risadas tal vez, tal vez en
[gritos,
Y sus raras preguntas y ade-
[manes
Dan de su estado miserable in-
[dicios.

It will be seen that, while the resemblance between the two passages is not strictly verbal, the later seems to follow the earlier in most of its details. Further, if Kerima refuses to marry Mudarra and retires to a convent (this being of Rivas' invention) he is not less likely to have been inspired by Minna, who of her free will gives up her lover and devotes her life to good works, than by Rebecca the Jewess. Minna's retirement, indeed, is something more than conventual.

« Her thoughts... were detached from the world, and only visited it, with an interest like that which guardian spirits take for their charge, in behalf of those friends with whom she lived in love, or of the poor whom she could serve and comfort ¹. »

Two incidents in the *Pirate* undoubtedly recall to the reader of the *Moro Expósito* the story which Zaide unfolds to Mudarra by moonlight. One is the scene in which Norna

1. P. 657.

tells the two girls, Minna and Brenda, part of the story of her youth and her relationship to themselves, in the flickering and fast-dying light of the iron lamp¹. The other is of course that in which she reveals to Mordaunt, with floods of tears, the supposed truth that she is his mother.

« I know I have but one parent, replied Mordaunt; my mother has been long dead. But your words contradict each other ».

« They do not — they do not », said Norna, in a paroxysm of the deepest feeling; « you have but one parent. Your unhappy mother is not dead — I would to God that she were! —but she is not dead. Thy mother is the only parent that loves thee; and I — I, Mordaunt », throwing herself on his neck, « am that most unhappy — yet most happy mother. »

She closed him in a strict and convulsive embrace; and tears, the first, perhaps, which she had shed for many years, burst in torrents as she sobbed on his neck².

It is conceivable that these are the resemblances which occurred to the early critic mentioned, but it is far more likely that he was struck merely by the scene in Chapter VI where Norna in the midst of the fury of the elements chants the weird invocation styled the Song of the Tempest, her staff of black oak outstretched toward the heavens. This invocation, after all, is no more like Elvida's than any one of half-a-dozen scenes from Scott, her song is weak and trite compared with Norna's, and her pose, to say the least, is less dignified³, in keeping, of course, with the impression Rivas intended to produce⁴. Her whole aspect, indeed,

1. P. 293 ff.

2. P. 513.

3. *M. E.*, 499 : Cuyos brazos
Secos, yertos, desnudos gesticulan
De un modo amenazante.

4. I am inclined to think that the *Maga de la Montaña*, which in

contrasts violently with that of Norna's « noble countenance, half shaded by dishevelled tresses », and « air of majesty with which, in a tone of menace as well as of command, she addressed the viewless spirit of the tempest ¹ ». We have instead, in words only partially cited above :

Una horrenda visión de maga o bruja;
Una vieja espantable, cuya ropa,
Que es una roja saya que se ajusta
De fantástico modo al magro cuerpo,
Un negro manto y una toca sucia,
Todo en desorden y rasgado ².

It would seem then, that any similarity between these two characters is fortuitous.

The reader has already been warned in connection with *Ivanhoe* that he must discount certain apparent resemblances between Scott's romance and Rivas' by reason of the general resemblances which he could not fail to find in historical romances written in the same literary period and under similar prevailing influences. This section will be concluded with some notes on two of the Waverley Novels (*The Talis-*

the article cited above on the influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain I was unable to identify (see *Revue hispanique*, Vol. LV), was a translation or an abridgment of the *Pirate*. Any reader may be forgiven if Norna of the Fitful-Head leaves upon him the most striking impression made by a character in that book. She enters the story early (in Chapter v); she is described impressively and at length (Border edition, pp. 77-80); she plays a prominent part throughout the novel, and is intimately concerned in the revelations at its close. If we think of her as we see her in Chapter x watching young Mordaunt Mertoun from the brow of a hill, and then declaring herself « the queen and protectress of these wild and neglected isles » (p. 153), we shall not consider *La Maga de la Montaña* an unsuitable title for the Spanish translation.

1. P. 88.

2. *M. E.*, 499.

man and *Guy Mannering*) which have no resemblances with the *Moro Expósito* sufficiently close to make it even conceivable that Rivas used them, and yet have certain general points of similarity which might lead the unwary reader to assume direct influence. Besides serving as a warning, such examination should bring out the more strongly the significance of the many detailed resemblances which occur between the *Moro Expósito* and *Ivanhoe*.

We shall find, then, in the *Talisman*, several of Rivas' best types, notably the wealthy Abbot of Canto X¹ who corresponds in a general way to Scott's Bishop of Tyre², and the hermit Theodorick in his desert chapel³, corresponding to the desert chapel of Rivas' hermit Ildovaldo⁴. Both the hermits, it might be urged, had been wealthy and influential men, — but so had many anchorites, especially in Romantic fiction. And if the passages in question are studied, it will be seen that the furniture and accessories of the two chapels differ about as much as would be possible in two such necessarily similar places.

As to scenes, the combat between the Christian and Saracen knights in Chapter I⁵ is not unlike that of Mudarra and Rui-Velázquez, but as soon as we descend to details it is hard to find any similarity at all. El Hakim's sponge and « aromatic distillation », used to revive King Richard⁶, remind the reader of Kerima's « rico pomo de oro... con un licor fuerte que perfuma y embalsama la atmósfera⁷ ». The vulgar conception of Orientals, however, has always

1. *M. E.*, 458.

2. *Tal.*, chap. VIII *passim*.

3. *Tal.*, chap. IV, pp. 539-541, 547.

4. *M. E.*, p. 441.

5. *Tal.*, 490-3.

6. *Tal.*, 617.

7. *M. E.*, 507.

endowed them with magic potions and ointments, — again a conception especially common in fiction — and no less with the highest and loftiest attitude towards whatever « supernatural » gifts they may possess, an attitude well illustrated by Rivas' Dalmatian wizard and the Arabian physician of the *Talisman*.

[*Richard offers the physician a thousand bezants.*]

« I sell not the wisdom with which Allah has endowed me », answered the Arabian physician; « and be it known to you, great Prince, that the divine medicine of which you have partaken would lose its effects in my unworthy hands, did I exchange its virtues either for gold or diamonds ¹ ».

Príncipes y monarcas a porfía
Tenerle en su servicio y sujetarle
En su corte quisieron con hala-
[gos
Y con ofertas de riquezas grandes;
Mas él, independiente...
Diciendo ser universal su ciencia..
Con grande autoridad y alta-
[nería
Trataba a los guerreros y ma-
[gnates,
Sentando que la ciencia es don
[del cielo,
Don más sublime que poder y
[sangre ².

This is perhaps a double development of this common idea remarkable enough to be called a singular coincidence, but there seems no evidence for calling it anything more, and, though there are further similarities in the immediate context of each passage they are so entirely conventional as not to merit quotation.

Another of the possible originals for Rivas' portrait of Elvida would be the Meg Merrilies of *Guy Mannering*, were it necessary to suppose an original. The one vies with the other in her wild, distraught appearance (Meg Merrilies'

1. *Tal.*, 664.

2. *M. E.*, 393.

« attitude was that of a sibyl in frenzy ¹ »), appearing in unfrequented and lonely spots ², singing wild and weird songs and frightening any who passed by ³. Although there is not complete resemblance even in these points, and the dress affected by Elvida is not like Meg's ⁴, the general effect of the appearances of the two is quite similar :

She was standing upon one of those high, precipitous banks which, as we before noticed, overhung the road...; and her tall figure, relieved against the clear blue sky, seemed almost of supernatural stature ⁵.

Si alguien la veía
En una helada noche de Di-
[ciembre,
De pie en un risco, y su contorno
[oscuro
Dibujarse en las nubes trans-
[parentes,
Que la luna argentaba detrás
[de ella,
Cosa del otro mundo, que las
[leyes
Del orbe a turbar iba, la juz-
[gaba,
Sobrecogido de terror solemne ⁶.

And, — a more important because a less conventional likeness — both Meg and Elvida have strong affections which are directed towards a family, and its young male representative in particular. We read of Meg's « ancient attachment

1. *G. M.*, 71, cf. 35. Aiso 20 : « Her eyes had a wild roll that indicated something like real or affected insanity. »

Cf. *M. E.*, 342 : « su enfermiza mente ».

2. *M. E.*, 341 ff. : « Vagando como fiera a la intemperie », etc

3. *M. E.*, 341 : De exterminio y muerte
Entonaba.

Cf. *G. M.*, 19, 21, 36, 66.

4. Apart from its general « wildness ». See *G. M.*, 20, 71. Cf. *M. E.*, 341.

5. *G. M.*, 71.

6. *M. E.*, 341.

to the family ¹ » of Ellangowan, and of her devotion to young Harry :

She often contrived to waylay him in his walks, sing him a gypsy song, give him a ride upon her jackass, and thrust into his pocket a piece of gingerbread or red-cheeked apple... On one occasion, when the child was ill, she lay all night below the window, chanting a rhyme which she believed sovereign as a febrifuge, and could neither be prevailed upon to enter the house nor to leave the station she had chosen till she was informed that the crisis was over ².

So Elvida loves young Gonzalo as her own child, and will only leave the palace, when Lara is turned out, because the boy is no more :

Pues no he de verte
Jamás, ¡oh mi Gonzalo! ¡oh niño hermoso!
A quien aquestos pechos dieron leche

¿Qué me importa dejar estas paredes ³?

This dog-like devotion ⁴, as we know, is afterwards extended to Mudarra, whom she believes to be Gonzalo come to life again ⁵.

This similarity between two characteristic personages is the only evidence for the influence of *Guy Mannering* on the *Moro Expósito*, except possibly the likeness between

1. *G. M.*, 66.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *M. E.*, 340. Cf. her return to the palace, 342 ff.

4. *M. E.*, 342 : Allí gimiendo estuvo, como suele
El perro fiel junto al sepulcro helado,
Do su señor el sueño eterno duerme.

5. *M. E.*, 346 ff.

Lara's ruined palace and the ruined castle of Ellangowan ¹. I believe both resemblances, however, to be fortuitous.

1. *G.M.*, 32-3, *M.E.*, 323-4. The curious may compare the passages, which seem little more alike than would be almost inevitable in the descriptions of two castles.

V

Execution and Artistry — Picturesqueness of the *Moro Expósito*. — Images of light more frequent here than anywhere else in Rivas' works. — His extensive use of colour. — Regionalism in sentiment and description. — Local colour. — Landscapes and nature-passages. — Realism : use of the horrible, the grotesque and the comic.

The picturesqueness of the *Moro Expósito* reminds us once more that Rivas, in literature as in art, was pre-eminently a painter, and of its pictorial characteristics none is more striking than the use of light and colour. Even had we not remarked that from his earliest days he had been fascinated by these two qualities, we should hardly fail to recognise them here — or at least to experience a strange impression accountable for by their presence.

The element of colour, though striking enough to make one wonder why the critics have not dwelt upon it¹, is perhaps the less noticeable of the two. It would be idle to argue that colour does not frequently play an important part in the descriptions and allusions of the poem : it could hardly be otherwise than prominent in the work of an au-

1. Azorín (in *Rivas y Larra*, pp. 129-131) has some emphatic phrases, but he is using the word *color*, as the context shows, in the unusual sense of « realism », much as we speak in English of « (local) colour ». No critic known to me has treated Rivas' love of colour, in the normal sense of the word, with more than passing attention.

thor who had already proved himself a painter in words as well as on canvas. But it is easy to associate with their natural colours the scenes and objects which Rivas describes¹, or to attach over-much importance to a few pictures which are indeed a mass of many colours, such as the portrait of the housekeeper waiting upon the guests at the famous feast in Canto VI². Apart from a very few passages like these, which might well be thought so highly coloured as to be inartistic, the predominant impression in the *Moro Expósito* would seem rather to be of *light* than of *colour*. How striking are such passages as :

Y cuando el sol en el zenit brillando
De luz torrentes a la tierra daba,

1. Where an object is used as a synonym of a colour, I take this as equivalent to the colour, and am not referring to it in the above criticism. Examples are frequent and may easily be found on the pages which follow : a case in point would be the description of Kerima (pp. 56-7) — her « rostro de *jazmín* y rosas hecho. *Nieve* era su garganta, etc., » where the words italicised are merely poetical synonyms for the colours which characterise them. (Cf. pp. 127, ff. above.) I am thinking rather of words which are not so used by the poet, but which, having a distinctive colour, and being commonly used in literature (even elsewhere in this poem) as synonyms of that colour or being commonly associated with it in the popular mind, call up images of the colour to a mind rich in visual imagery, and hence give the impression of colour, whether the poet intended that impression to be given or no.

Examples are the frequent mention of snow (*e. g.* *La sangre* misma Que un momento fué *nieve*... 249, 28-9. Cf. 243, 27; 275, 8-9; 301, 11-12; 327, 4; 492, 24, etc.) quite apart from its use metonymically for « whiteness »; *e. g.* En el papel de inmaculada *nieve* (334, 14); Con su semblante de ceniza y *nieve* (343, 26); white flowers (*azucena*, *azahar*, *lirio*, *jazmín*, etc.; *e. g.* Cual tierno *lirio* que el arado troncha, Quedó, 10.25-6); jet (*azabache*, *e. g.* De *azabache* Las lenguas trenzas que su frente orlaban..., 381, 16-17).

2. Romance VI, pp. 243-4.

El ronco són de trompas y clarines
Cundió del suelo hasta las nubes altas ¹.

And they occur from the very beginning of the poem, where the moon reigns in the heaven :

tranquila en el celeste espacio
Reina la luna de luciente nácar
Entre celajes ².

and Zahira, fair as the day-star, on the earth,

« Bella como el lucero refulgente
Fin de la noche y precursor del alba... »
... Pronto huyó, cual brilla y huye
Luciente exhalación ³.

where « the light of reason » shines in the Foundling's soul⁴ and he is entrusted to Zaide, whom all Córdoba acclaims « de las ciencias luz ». Zahira, ere she dies, speaks to the Foundling

Reuniendo en sí los últimos alientos,
Resplandores de lumbre que se apaga ⁵,

and her eyes glow for the last time with heavenly flame ⁶. One would almost think that Rivas was obsessed with the idea of light, so lavishly does he flood his canvas with it in

1. Romance I, p. 29.

2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 3, ll. 9-11.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 10

« Por la postrera vez sus bellos ojos
Con luz ardieron de celeste llama. »

the opening canto ¹. Nor does the scene darken for long later. Apart from images and epithets recalling light, there are whole passages no less striking than that first cited. Kerima's love for Mudarra is described in terms of light. « La llama en que se quema » is a noble passion.

No es un chispazo vil de tal incendio
La causa, no es centella voladora,
De obscura nube parto pasajero;
Es el sol puro, el sol es quien la abrasa ².

Love « shines in her eyes ³ », and when a disconcerting fear suddenly veils that light ⁴, the poet uses a figure of which he is fond :

Cual de repente nube parda,
Que sigue el curso rápido del viento,
Del sol ofusca la radiante lumbre,
La risueña pradera obscureciendo ⁵.

While as Mudarra hears Zaide's challenge to vengeance

Lumbre de gloria relució en sus ojos ⁶.

The supreme example, however, is to be found in the des-

1. Other examples the reader may search out for himself : p. 11, l. 26; p. 14, ll. 9-12; p. 15, l. 27; p. 16, l. 26; p. 17, ll. 3-6, 21-2; p. 23, ll. 19-22; p. 29, ll. 3-4; p. 30, ll. 23-6; p. 39, ll. 10-11, 25-8. The opening lines of the following canto are :

Giafar, en cuyos ojos centellea
Siniestra lumbre de terrible agüero...

2. P. 65, ll. 19-23.

3. Ferviente amor brilla en sus ojos. (P. 66, l. 1.)

4. De sus ojos marchita el claro brillo. (P. 66, l. 11.)

5. P. 66, ll. 5-8.

6. P. 97, l. 21.

criptions of Lara. We may recall Lara's story of his visions in prison. The background is the darkness of night ¹, to which succeeds a vision of blood ², and of the seven pale phantasms stealing across the sandy plain ³. Then, after months of anguish and fever, there comes the liberating vision of peace which is also a vision of radiant light ⁴. Thereafter in speaking of the blind father Rivas continually plays upon the theme of light and darkness. He enters the palace grounds with Nuño,

1. Las lóbregas tinieblas de la noche
Que inundaban mi cámara mezquina,
Llenas me aparecieron de prodigios,
Y visiones tremendas. (P. 251, ll. 5-8.)

2. Ya de fuego una atmósfera y de sangre
Un mar rugiente en mi reedor tenía,
Y en las llamas ardiendo mis palacios,
Las armas y pendón de mi familia;
Mientras que siete cuerpos sin cabezas
En las hinchadas ondas purpurinas
Nadaban. (P. 251, ll. 13-19.)

3. Un llano...
De ardiente arena...
Y cruzaban por él...
blanquecinas
Siete fantasmas. (P. 251, ll. 22-7.)

4. P. 253, l. 21 to p. 254, l. 7; p. 254, ll. 13-15. Two further (later) images and metaphors of light heighten the effect.

La luz del día...
Se tornó mi más bárbara enemiga. (P. 255, ll. 8-10.)

En mi mezquina
Mente aún alguna vez cierta vislumbre
De esperanza falaz y fugitiva
Tornó a brillar. (P. 256, ll. 14-17.)

the « nieblas blanquecinas » which hide the face of the sky ¹, the snow-clad mountains ², the white mist enveloping the woods ³, even the clouds of dust on the plain ⁴ are the poet's tribute to the whiteness of Nature. The array of knights, ladies and courtiers reflects in some degree Nature's splendour. The white *garzotas* ⁵, Mudarra's snow-white mare ⁶, the white robes of priest and monk ⁷, the maidens clad in white, with crowns of jasmine and orange-blossom ⁸, the white cloths which swathe the lances in sign of peace ⁹, the white sheepskins which serve as carpets in the palace ¹⁰, the pale ghosts which pass across the stage of the romance ¹¹ are diverse but striking contributions to the effect. Kerima's beauty is a constant theme : her « blanquísima garganta ¹² », her « blancas formas delicadas ¹³ », « blanca frente ¹⁴ », and « rostro de jazmín y rosas hecho ¹⁵ ». And the most solemn scenes of the romance are characterized by the same colour. The legitimization of Mudarra is preceded by the kissing of a scroll of « white vellum ¹⁶ » Tapers light up the white walls of the chapel ¹⁷, where the hermit's white hair and

1. P. 223, l. 2., cf. p. 371, l. 4.
2. P. 318, l. 1.
3. P. 455, ll. 15-16.
4. P. 215, l. 4.
5. P. 15, l. 1.
6. P. 34, l. 2.
7. E. g., 457, ll. 20-1. Cf. also n. 1, p. 311 below.
8. P. 16, ll. 11-12.
9. P. 289, ll. 15-16.
10. P. 278, l. 5.
11. E. g., p. 251, ll. 26-7; p. 457, ll. 20-1; cf. p. 367, ll. 17-18.
12. P. 37, l. 10. Cf. p. 57, l. 1.
13. P. 38, l. 14.
14. P. 57, l. 6.
15. P. 56, l. 26.
16. P. 326, l. 21.
17. P. 440, ll. 21-2.

beard flow freely and the picture is completed by the white *túnica* and the stole which presumably was white also ¹. Other epithets are more conventional : the snow-white hair of Kerima's nurse ² or of her spectre-like pursuer ³, white bread ⁴, the white foam at the mouth of the poisoned dog ⁵, the white dust ⁶, a whitened skull ⁷, and the like. But at the final scene the artist has his chance once more. Natural enough it is that the ceremony should take place in spring

Entre verdura y matizadas flores ⁸

* * *

Cuando de Mayo al ilustrar la aurora
Cumbres azules y celajes rojos,
De las huecas campanas el estruendo,
Que retumbando por los valles hondos,
Una bóveda inmensa de zafiro
Llenaba toda con sus ecos sordos ⁹.

-
1. En blancas ondas
Su barba y sus cabellos descendían,
Y una túnica blanca y una estola
Eran su traje.

(P. 441, ll. 24-7.) Cf. p. 449, ll. 27-30.

2. P. 60, l. 8.

3. P. 217, ll. 19-20 Cf. p. 402, l. 12

4. P. 329, l. 11, and elsewhere.

5. P. 372, ll. 11. But contrast the arresting epithet (at p. 485, l. 28) applied to Mudarra's horse at the tournament

Que salpica el aura
Con leves grumos *de argentada espuma*.

6. P. 533, ll. 10, and elsewhere.

7. P. 530, ll. 7-8.

8. P. 532, l. 19.

9. P. 532, l. 23 to 533, l. 2.

More natural still that floods of light should bathe the city
in splendour :

Derramando su fúlgido torrente
El sol inmenso, engendrador del oro,
Por el desierto espacio caminaba
A ocupar del zenit el alto trono ¹

But most natural of all that the youths in the procession
should carry

Blancos pendones y penachos rojos ².

that the knights and nobles should have

Bandas blancas pendiendo de sus hombros ³

and that the catechumens should be robed in white, and the
effect heightened at once by contrast and by adornment ⁴ :

Mudarra sobre el traje castellano,
Que le sienta mejor que el traje moro,
De neófito la blanca veste lleva,
Con modesto ademán, turbado y corto.
A Kerima la túnica de lino,
Puesta con negligencia y abandono
La virginal corona de azucenas
Y rosas blancas de su frente en torno,
Los nítidos cabellos derramados
En negras ondas por el cuello y hombros ,
Y los ojos a veces cual luceros
Reverberando, o cual ardientes hornos
Encendidos, a veces eclipsados,
Fijos, como sin luz, otras de asombro
Llenos girando en torno, y otras turbios

1. P. 534, ll. 9-12.

2. P. 534, l. 24.

3. P. 535, l. 2.

4. P. 536, l. 9 to p. 537, l. 2.

Con gruesas gotas de salobre lloro,
 Y la gran palidez de sus mejillas,
 Con la boca entreabierta, cierto modo
 De andar y de mover brazos y cuello,
 Y el tardo respirar cansado y hondo
 Le dan una apariencia tan extraña,
 Tal indeciso y vago a sus contornos,
 Que asemejaba cosa de otro mundo,
 Aparición o sueño vaporoso.

Rivas' use of colour, apart from white, is in our view, as is explained above, less remarkable. For let us first discount — as to some extent we may — the colour-phrases which are in the nature of permanent epithets, or are purely conventional in form.

Se da en *la roja frente* una palmada (P. 33, l. 24.)

El corazón palpita de Kerima,
Púrpura ardiente su semblante esmalta ¹ (P. 35, ll. 5-6.)

Le retrataba con *las negras sombras*
 De lástima, de afrenta y de desprecio: (P. 60, ll. 1-2.)

Del generoso joven las mejillas
 Con ruborosa grana se encendieron,
 Y una lágrima pronta a derramarse
 Aumentó el brillo de sus ojos negros ². (P. 76, ll. 25-8.)

De cien antorchas a la roja lumbre (P. 113, l. 21.)

Las mejillas

De amarillez y lágrimas cubiertas ³ (P. 163, ll. 19-20.)

1. This is a common trait in the poem. Cf. :

Púrpura tiñe su semblante bello. (P. 66, l. 2.)

El cordobés mancebo, al escucharlas,
 De *púrpura* esmaltó su rostro noble. (P. 293, ll. 13-4.)

2. Cf. 17, 1.

3. Cf. 310, 10-11. Su faz cubrióse
 De amarillez siniestra.

De sus labios
¿Dónde el fresco carmín? (P. 208, ll. 9-10.)

De roja sangre
Manchará su pecho blanco. (P. 213, ll. 23-4.)

Más azul el zafir del puro cielo ¹ (P. 360, l. 17.)

Blanca espuma arrojando por la boca ² (P. 372, l. 11.)

Se convierten
Las gualdas de su faz en frescas rosas. (P. 463, ll. 5-6.)

Levanta hinchado el mar su turbio espacio
En negras olas y movibles montes. (P. 282, ll. 13-4.)

Nor let us forget that other colours, principally black, are purely metaphorical ²:

Un negro crimen
A otro y otro, y a mil abre la puerta. (P. 160, ll. 11-12.)
. Atrocidad tan detestable y negra (P. 163, l. 16.)

Tan negra furia y ceguedad culpable (P. 250, l. 19.)

Con negro encono
Y furor (P. 357, ll. 8-9.)

It is true that there remain many flashes of colour, and some of them may well be recalled. The white and scarlet of the hundred knights at Abdimelik's marriage ³, the green robes of the *cadí* ⁴ the red and gold decorations ⁵ at the same festival, and the violet and green of Mudarra's *cuadrilla* ⁶ are the outstanding features of the great occasion. Heraldry

1. Cf. 277, 3. Y una bóveda inmensa de zafiro
and 533, 1, where the identical line recurs.

2. Cf. p. 495 below.

3. P. 14, l. 25 to p. 27, l. 2.

4. P. 18, l. 1.

5. P. 29, ll. 17-20.

6. P. 30, ll. 15-16.

and heraldic metaphors are the means of introducing colours more than once ¹, as they were in the *Paso honroso*, where the less skilful hand was more noticeable but less effective ².

As throughout the poet's work, the sky is responsible for

1. P. 109, ll. 7-8 (Lara's shield with its « dorado castillo en rojo campo »), p. 494, ll. 25-8 (the bearings of Rui-Velázquez).

Y orgulloso tremola su estandarte,
En cuyo centro brilla la figura
De un león rampante de oro, en verde campo,
Con orla de escarlata que lo ajusta.

Mudarra's standard « Azul y en medio una bordada luna » (p. 485, l. 16). See also below, *passim*, for further examples.

2. On the three colours which with black give the predominant colour-tone to the *Moro Expósito*, the following notes have been compiled to give some idea of the poet's varied use of his palette. The list does not claim to be exhaustive but representative only.

Red. Habiba's blushing face (17, 1); Scarlet awning (21, 16); torch-light (405, 15); flames (240, 9; 386, 3); the rubicund cheeks and nose (« hacia la punta roja ») of the Abbot (459, 1-2) and the « barba roja » of the *padre receptor* (467, 14); the « ancho rostro bermejo y rubicundo » of the *padre dispensero*, these two personages being described with unflattering realism (cf. p. 468, l. 2); the blood-stained soil of the arena in the final conflict (504, 1). « Risueña grana » (e. g., 362, 1) is a common epithet; also « purpurino » (e. g., 361, 24).

Green. Emeralds (17, 6). Cucumber (124, 1). Sedges (324, 28). *Cordones verdes* (362, 4). Leaves (277, 7). The gruesome reference to the dying dog's « lengua seca y verde » (372, 12).

Green and red are a not uncommon collocation in the poem (as in 494, 12). There are many mentions of « cipreses verdinegros » (cf. following quotations in text, and 456, 6).

Black. The « caballo negro » of 373, 30; the ample « negra gorra » of the Abbot in 458, 10; the mourning shows of the conflict between Mudarra and Rui-Velázquez (see *infra*); Velázquez' black hair (« negro torrente De rizos y de trenzas », 505, 27-8); Kerima's black lashes contrasted with her face (« de jazmín y rosas hecho », 56, 26); the « black waves » of 282, 13-14.

very many of the colour effects which are most noticeable. Thus we have sunsets, sometimes less brilliant, sometimes more, far too numerous to quote ¹.

Lara, returning old and blind after his long imprisonment, with beard white as snow, is dressed in black velvet fringed with tarnished gold ², and the dark eyes of his companion are made to point the pathos of the return ³.

The young Count of Castilla wears

Un sayo carmesí de oro bordado,
Una ancha cuera recamada, y sobre
El pecho un primoroso talabarte
Con castillos de plata por botones,
Una ligera toca de velludo
Adornada de plumas de colores,
Y de piel de pantera las abarcas ⁴...

Rui-Velázquez' wife is described with indelible clearness :

Era su boca perlas y corales,
Sus ojos dos luceros refulgentes,

1. Cf. for example, p. 84, ll. 23-30; p. 95, ll. 1-4.

2. Alba como la nieve, hasta la cinta
 Su barba ondea...
 ... Es su vestido un sayo de velludo
 Negro con franjas de oro deslucidas
 Como el total del traje. (P. 230, ll. 2-3, 5-7.)

3. Sus negros ojos expresivos
 Y preñados de lágrimas indican
 Gran sensibilidad, y que recuerdos
 De penoso dolor le martirizan.
 Viste un ropón de tosca lana pardo;
 Y de cuero rojizo una esclavina...
 Cubre sus hombros y su espalda y pecho,
 Sobre el cual va colgada una reliquia
 En una caja de oro y filigrana. (P. 230, ll. 19-24, 27-9.)

4. P. 311, l. 21 to p. 312, l. 1.

Nieve y rosa su faz, y de azabache
Las luengas trenzas que su frente orlaban,
Descendiendo gallardas hasta el talle.
Alabastro bruñido parecían
Garganta y pechos...
de jazmines
Las delicadas manos ¹.

Rui-Velázquez himself appears at the final fray, his coat of arms in scarlet, green and gold ², and his dress

Con aforro de malla una purpúrea
Veste o túnica abierta, guarnecida
Con franjas de oro en bordes y costuras ³.

Twilights are responsible for more of Rivas' colours :

cuando apenas
En las lejanas cumbres de Occidente,
Un escaso crepúsculo quedaba,
Pronto entre negras nubes a perderse ⁴.

and an occasional sunrise

Ya la primera luz en el Oriente
Iluminaba los celajes rojos ⁵...

A more sombre picture is that of the wind-swept leaves :

De parda alfombra entapizando el suelo ⁶,

1. P. 381, ll. 14-20, 23-4.

2. P. 494, ll. 25-8.

3. P. 495, ll. 18-20.

4. P. 367, ll. 1-4.

5. P. 520, ll. 29-30.

6. P. 75, ll. 3-6.

or the view of the Castillo de Albaida :

Entre encinas y olivos verdinegros,
Al pie de la alta sierra, coronando
Un pardo risco entre apacibles huertos ¹.

or the sandy river-bed near it :

Un solitario risco la corona,
De pardo musgo entapizado a trechos ².

We have the scenery of Castile as well as of Andalucía given us, with bare soil, sunless sky, hidden by white clouds,

Y un horizonte de hórridas montañas,
Que con peñascos áridos se erizan,
Do nacen sólo verdinegros pinos,
Y que abruman las nieves me lo indican ³.

But let it be remembered that these phrases and passages, which, when brought together, give so vivid an effect, are dispersed over a poem of some fifteen thousand lines. Let it be remembered that there are whole passages in which no single touch of colour occurs ⁴; that others are relieved only by conventional phrases; that much of what remains is crude and inartistic, suggesting that it has been but imperfectly visualized or carelessly set down. We shall then

1. P. 78, l. 25 to p. 79, l. 2.

2. P. 85, ll. 9-10.

3. P. 223, ll. 1-8.

4. In Cantos IV and V, for example, between pages 163 and 208, there are only two touches of colour other than black and white; nearly two-thirds of Canto VI (pp. 244-277) is destitute of colour, save for three isolated references; about two-thirds of Canto VIII (pp. 324-360) is equally bare save for a red standard and two touches of white. Other colourless, or practically colourless tracts are pp. 131-162; 390-404; 405-446; 467-482; 505-530.

be inclined perhaps to admit that while many touches and flashes of almost every colour known to the poet light up the romance, the predominant impression is that of the whiteness and the brightness which has always been (to the Englishman, at least) even more than its varied colours, the principal attraction of that garden of Spain in which Rivas was at home.

Before leaving this subject, however, we must point out the great effectiveness with which Rivas introduces both his lights and his colours. The mourning shows of the final conflict are as impressive as the conflict itself : the « ancho tablado... Con paños negros adornado », the « concurso inmenso », « vestido de luto », the eight pages mounted on black horses :

Negras la veste, la gualdrapa y plumas :
Después cuatro escuderos enlutados,
Y cuatro ancianos caballeros...
Armas empavonadas, y rodela
Con negras manchas que el blasón ocultan ¹...

And Nature lends effect to the scene : Rui-Velázquez' castle is enshrouded in mist, and dark clouds announce a « triste y destemplada noche ² ». The « rojo resplandor ³ » of the fire in the castle may be conventional, but hardly so the climax :

La dorada techumbre a desplomarse
Va al momento ⁴.

1. Pp. 483, 485, *passim*.

2. Empezó triste y destemplada noche
Nubarrones cruzaban por el aire,
Y una ligera niebla coronaba
Las torres del castillo de Velázquez. (P. 399, ll. 15-18.)

3. P. 386, 3.

4. P. 390, 1-5.

Nor was it unfitting that on the morrow the sun rose in a setting of blood¹, while the lingering pleasure with which the painter dwells on the succeeding colour effects is something hardly to be surpassed by a Keats or a Rossetti, a Bernardin de St. Pierre or a Chateaubriand.

We must never, in studying the *Moro Expósito*, overlook the significance of the sub-title². Second only in importance to the story of Mudarra was the tale of two cities. The centring of the legend round two cities, each so characteristic and so entirely unlike as Córdoba and Burgos, gives Rivas an opportunity both to vary his scenery and local colour, and at the same time to practise to the full the Romantic device of antithesis.

Córdoba, Rivas' birthplace, naturally fares better at his hands than Burgos. The city as seen from the *sierra*³, the « eternal palms⁴ », the Guadalquivir silently washing the shores of the vast plain⁵, the majestic towers standing out against the sky :

Sobre el fondo del obscuro cielo
Aun más obscuras sus excelsas torres
Dibuja, y sus alcázares soberbios⁶.

are all described not once, but many times.

1. P. 390, ll. 1-5.

2. « Córdoba y Burgos en el siglo décimo. » Curiously it is omitted from the 1894 edition, though it stands in those preceeding.

3. P. 201, l. 21 to p. 202, l. 2.

4. ... Las antiguas vividoras palmas
Que de la edad triunfando y de los vientos,
Con noble majestad las frentes alzan. (P. 4, ll. 18-19.)

5. (El) silencioso
Guadalquivir, que hoy riega solitarias
Las extensas llanuras. (P. 4, ll. 21-3.)

6. P. 85, ll. 22-4.

Most frequently of all, Rivas sings the charms of the Guadalquivir :

tus encantos
Claro Guadalquivir ¹.

views the palace which it mirrors, and the city which stands upon its banks, not independently, but as part of one great whole, of which the river is perhaps the principal feature :

En medio de espaciosas alamedas,
Guadalquivir en sus risueñas aguas,
De la Almunia el magnífico palacio
Como en luciente espejo retrataba ².

De las altas almenas del castillo
La ciudad se descubre, del risueño
Guadalquivir en la feraz ribera,
Gigantes torres elevando al viento ³.

In other total effects we always see the river :

La orilla,
Donde Guadalquivir su curso undoso
Revuelve entre olivares y jardines,
Las altas cimbrias y recuadros de oro
De la insigne mezquita cordobesa
Reverberando en sus cristales hondos ⁴.

1. P. 331, ll. 11-12; cf. p. 63, ll. 7-8; p. 221, ll. 2-4.

Se pierde en las florestas,
Que del Guadalquivir gozan el riego.

(P. 331, ll. 25-6.)

Apacibles nacieron en las flores
Que de Guadalquivir las auras mecén.

2. P. 20, ll. 13-16.

3. P. 78, ll. 17-20.

4. P. 512, ll. 9-14.

We have the city, too, in greater detail: the quiet gardens ¹, the « cuatro frentes del inmenso alcázar ² », the grounds of that Zahara of which not a trace now remains ³, the Carrahola tower which storms beat in vain ⁴. It is for Rivas the city of Góngora's famous sonnet; and the river is that same river:

¡Oh excelso muro, oh torres levantadas
De honor, de majestad, de gallardía!
¡Oh gran río, gran rey de Andalucía ⁵!...

The city is the same city, and in the days of its greatness:

En la alta cumbre de esplendor y gloria
Resplandecía el musulman Imperio ⁶.

Much of his detail, as we have seen, Rivas took from two works which were accessible to him in Malta ⁷, and this detail he used well. But the *Moro Expósito* does not depend for its charm or its value upon strict historical accuracy. It is primarily, like all Rivas' works, written for the imagination, and his pictures of Córdoba are reconstructed by memory and imagination rather than by scientific research.

The companion picture of Burgos is the antithesis of that of Córdoba; it is as gloomy as Rivas would make the sky of

1. « Los jardines plácidos de Almunia. » (P. 23, l. 17.)

2. P. 23, l. 24.

3. P. 85, l. 25 to p. 86, l. 2 (and cf. note 23 at the end of the canto)

Vió a su diestra de Zahara los jardines,
Los pórticos, palacios y liceos;
Y hoy un desnudo llano sólo viera,
Pues hasta las ruinas perecieron.

4. P. 116, l. 25.

5. *A la ciudad de Córdoba y su fertilidad.*

6. P. 72, ll. 15-16.

7. See p. 240 above.

Castilla; it betrays the Andalusian unmistakably, and perhaps also the Romantic poet, with his passion for contrasts :

Gruesos muros levanta y torreones
De tosca piedra, donde el sol no brilla;
Pero que a las tormentas y huracanes,
Y al furor de la guerra desafían ¹.

Its palaces are bare of Oriental luxury ², its streets and squares have none of the animation of the South ³. Even the daily sounds of Burgos are harsh and rude :

Sólo resuena en Burgos el martillo,
Que sobre el duro ayunque se ejércita,
En arneses tornando el fuerte acero,
Ya templado en las fraguas encendidas;
El monótono canto de los coros
De conventos, parroquias y capillas,
Y el confuso rumor de un pueblo pobre
Y taciturno, que en las calles gira ⁴.

And at dawn no *almuhedén* summons the faithful to prayer from the tower of the mosque : his place is taken by hideous metal bells :

En su lugar la atmósfera ensordecen
Gruesas campanas de metal, que vibran

1. P. 223, ll. 21-4.

2. No de riquezas bárbaras henchidos
Sus palacios están, ni de exquisitas
Telas del rico Oriente entapizados,
Ni el regalo y las ciencias los habitan. (P. 223, ll. 25-8.)

3. No en las calles la voz de las escuelas
Se escucha, ni el bullicio y alegría
En abundantes plazas, ni el estruendo
De talleres, telares y oficinas. (P. 224, ll. 7-10.)

4. P. 224, ll. 11-18.

Melancólicos sonos, convocando
A celebrar las prácticas divinas ¹.

Then how different is the country in Castilla and Andalucía :

Y los campos... ¡oh Dios, cuán diferentes!
Allá los labradores en cuadrilla,
Casi desnudos, y cantando ledos
Tras de los tardos bueyes fecundizan
Los pingües sulcos y feraz cosecha,
Premio de su sudor, segura miran;
Mientras pobre gañán aquí, luchando
Con tierra ingrata y con adusto clima,
En pos de ágiles mulas rompe el suelo,
Temiendo de su afán y su fatiga
El fruto ver en su verdor talado
Por invasoras huestes enemigas;
O robado si no, cuando maduro,
Por el monje sagaz, por la codicia
Del tirano señor, o con violencia
Por foragidos que en el monte habitan ².

And final contrast of all : in Córdoba, a rich and powerful dynasty, yet soon to fall in ruin; in Burgos, poverty, ignorance, and unready rulers, yet a people with undeveloped qualities which presage Castilla's future greatness ³.

1. P. 223, l. 29 to p. 224, l. 6.

2. P. 224, l. 19 to p. 225, l. 4.

3. Rivas unlocks his eloquence most noticeably in the following lines (p. 225, ll. 5-20) :

Finalmente, aquel siglo el sol eterno
En las tierras de Betis descubría
Un imperio ilustrado y poderoso,
Una grande nación, acorde y rica,
Ya en la alta cumbre, y anunciando acaso
Su próximo descenso y su ruina
El supremo poder de sus monarcas
Y del pueblo el amor a las delicias;

After this striking continuous contrast we see little more of Burgos. A glimpse of the city¹ on one bright morning grudgingly described as a truce in its severe winter² is a final example of Rivas' ungraciousness which hardly convinces the historian, though it may appeal to the lover of the south!

Of other parts of Spain we see but little in the entire romance. There is a mere mention — far from characteristic — of the forests and crags of the Guadarrama³; of the « gigantescas torres⁴ » of Toledo; of the snowy heights of Fuenfría⁵; of the pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela⁶; and — returning to the Burgos district — several references to the « bosques fríos de Arlanza⁷ ». The rest are but bare names.

From the standpoint of historical accuracy the second part of the *Moro Expósito* is less satisfactory than the first. As Sr. Menéndez Pidal points out⁸, Rivas had apparently no authorities at hand to guide him in his study of Burgos:

Y en la que Arlanza con sus aguas mide,
Un estado naciente, una conquista,
Gobierno sin vigor, inciertas leyes,
Crasa ignorancia a la pobreza unida.
Bandos feroces; mas tan noble brío,
Constancia tal y tanta valentía,
Que presagiaban la grandeza inmensa
Que los cielos guardaban a Castilla

1. P. 481, ll. 5-12.

2. P. 481, ll. 1-3.

3. P. 100, ll. 11-12.

4. P. 107, ll. 3-4.

5. P. 107, l. 5.

6. P. 481, ll. 17-18.

7. E. g. p. 331, ll. 27-8; p. 524, ll. 9-12; cf. p. 156, ll. 9-10; p. 158, ll. 17-18. Some of these mentions are merely synonyms for Burgos.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

with the result that, besides giving free rein to his imagination to the extent of carrying antithesis to the point of absurdity, he commits several notable anachronisms : he makes Garci Fernández die in a war before Almanzor was Hagib, for example, and says that the Count, Don Sancho, was succeeded by the great Fernán González, who was actually his grandfather!

Yet worse anachronisms than these have been committed by greater men, and they would probably not have seemed to Rivas of great importance. A picture was to him more important than a history book; and if he fell in with the practice of the time by adding « historical notes » to various cantos of his poem, he was much more of his age in his sacrifice of truth to antithesis. A contemporary critic, writing a few months after the poem's first appearance, catches the very spirit of its author when he speaks of the Middle Ages in these words :

El siglo de la cadencia europea, el modelo de grandes virtudes, el cuadro de horrorosos crímenes : mezclados la piedad y el fanatismo, el honor y la venganza, el valor y la crueldad, la generosidad y la ignorancia, ofrecen al ingenio el más vasto campo para sublimes ilusiones, para singulares contrastes ¹. »

It sounded magnificent; and if it was not the Middle Ages at all, did that greatly matter? It would at any rate have had the approval of Victor Hugo.

It will be remembered that the Marqués de Valmar described his brother-in-law as having on the whole little feeling and little love for nature ². He shows more, however, in the *Moro Expósito* than elsewhere. The prominence of

1. « R. H. y S. » in *El Observador* (Sept. 4 1834).

2. See p. 111 above.

certain landscapes in the poem will already have been noticed by the reader of the foregoing sections of this chapter. Sunsets ¹, moonlight scenes ² and glimpses of the Andalusian countryside abound. The very opening of the poem describes the wind lashing the sea to fury, and then, by contrast, the moon shining high and serene in the heavens above the clouds, and the sea sleeping peacefully beneath. Not only Canto I, but almost every canto, opens with nature similes or images. Canto III shows the sun sinking in the west, night's mantle gently falling, and the moon rising in her chariot of silver ³. In the succeeding canto Zaide is compared to a traveller who has fought his way through crags and brambles and encounters an oasis in his path before engaging once more in dense woods and thickets ⁴. The next opening scene sees dawn breaking through the river-mists which have curtained the city during the night ⁵; that which follows is a painting of the fertile plain of Córdoba ⁶; next there is a brilliant picture of a keen but sunlit winter's day ⁷; Canto VIII presents nothing more striking in its opening lines than the palace of Salas ⁸, but Canto X gives us another of those light effects of which our poet is so fond :

Así en la noche por el monte espeso,
Perseguido de fieras bramadoras,
O de los salteadores asesinos,
Perdido caminante se acongoja;

1. *E. g.*, pp. 54, ll. 7-10; 215, ll. 1-8; 63, ll. 17-22; 84, ll. 23-30; 95, ll. 1-4.

2. Pp. 3, ll. 9-12; 39, ll. 23-6; 95, ll. 1-6; 99, ll. 7-10, etc., etc.

3. P. 95.

4. P. 141.

5. P. 177.

6. P. 221.

7. P. 277.

8. P. 323.

Y de pronto, al través de los peñascos,
Una brillante luz poco remota
Advierte, y reconoce ser la lumbre
De amigo albergue y conocida choza ¹.

Canto XI describes another brilliant winter's day :

Brilla la luz del apacible cielo,
Tregua logrando breve de la cruda
Estación invernal, y el aura mansa
Celajes rotos al Oriente empuja.
Ya en las gigantes torres que de Burgos
Sobre la catedral se alzan y encumbran,
Las cóncavas campanas el arribo
Del sol inmenso a su cenit saludan.

Even in these few instances, the predominance of the sun, the moon and the sky in the poet's imagination will be evident. The sea, for all its introduction into the opening lines, has for him less reality; Rivas' seascapes are frequently skyscapes too ², and his use of the sea is more often than not metaphorical or conventional ³. Yet even these uses may mean that when seeking a figure the poet turned naturally to an element with which experience had made him familiar, though such, it is right to say, is not the impression made on us by a reading of the poem as a whole.

It has already been remarked in connection with the presentation of colour in the poem how Rivas makes his scenery harmonise with the action. Many examples, unconnected with colour, might be added. Zaide's long story is one of the most striking. Told in a garden, by moonlight, with

1. Pp. 429-430.

2. *E. g.*, p. 282, ll. 13 ff.

3. *E. g.*, p. 176, ll. 11-12; p. 187, ll. 17-24 (more realistic); p. 195, ll. 5 ff.

seven young cypresses symbolically enhancing the significance of the narrative, it is not begun until the stage has in every particular been set :

... Alza la faz al vaporoso cielo,
Sin prorrumpir palabra, el noble anciano.
Su marchito semblante iluminaba,
Por la cándida barba resbalando,
El claror de la luna, que triunfante
De las nubes reinaba en el espacio...
Mudarra en sus facciones juveniles,
Vuelta la espalda al disco plateado,
De obscuridad cubiertas, escondía
Inquietud, atención, dolor y espanto.
Estaba el viento en calma; blandamente
El aura hería los desnudos ramos;
Reinaba hondo silencio ¹...

So the story begins. After a while Zaide speaks of the ring, and as he shows it to the boy the stones shimmer in the light of the moon ². When he pauses in the narrative he gazes at the moon and the stars before resuming it ³. As he tells of Giafar's horrible revenge the seven cypresses (by a somewhat inartistic device) wave in the breeze « con lúgubre rumor ⁴ ». The harmony between scene and action is rarely as near the ludicrous as this. It is occasionally a little

1. P. 99, ll. 5-10, 15-21.

2. Miró el anillo, en cuyas ricas piedras
Las luces de la luna rielaron. (P. 105, ll. 21-2.)

3. Zaide fijó los ojos inflamados
En la argentada luna y las estrellas,
Lanzó un suspiro, y prosiguió la historia
Con sosegada voz... (P. 142, ll. 1-4.)

4. P. 163, ll. 19-26.

clumsy, as at the point where Mudarra faints after vanquishing Rui-Velázquez, and the poet adds :

Tibia luz del crepúsculo expirante
Mayor solemnidad daba a la angustia
Universal ¹.

But more commonly the effect is given by suggestion. The owl hoots and the sudden gust of wind sweeps the grove as Mudarra is unwittingly about to do violence to Zahira's memory ², the same wind whistles round the crags and through the bare trees on the dark and rainy night when Rui-Velázquez seeks the hermit ³. Examples might easily be multiplied.

It is but a step from this use of natural scenery to its use in metaphor; of this examples have already been quoted, but it will not be amiss to cite some of a different kind. The first is one of the most striking in the book. Mudarra's love for Kerima is compared to the sun; for the moment it is obscured by thoughts of the momentous events in his life which he is experiencing, but the next moment, like the sun after a thunderstorm, it shines forth more brightly than ever :

Un súbito relámpago confunde
A medio día, ofusca y obscurece
El claro resplandor del sol eterno;
El trueno retumbante acalla y vence,
Por el momento que la nube rasga,
De la gran catarata que desciende
Del monte la alta voz con que los valles,
Campos y selvas turba y ensordece;
Pero pasa el relámpago, y el trueno
Calla también, y a su grandeza vuelve

1. P. 507, ll. 1-3.

2. P. 70, ll. 13 ff.

3. P. 436, ll. 1-8.

El inmutable sol, y los bramidos
Del raudal tornan a reinar cual siempre ¹.

Elsewhere Kerima's hopes are like a plant in the desert, a fugitive light ², and she herself is the prey of her wishes and fears, as a head of corn, covered with the dust of summer, is tossed about by summer storms ³. Just so in the ninth canto Rui-Velázquez, beside himself at the thought of the combat, is compared first to a ship at the mercy of the waves, and then to a tall cedar, the sport of the hurricanes which rock it ⁴. Not the least striking characteristic of these metaphors and others similar to them is this, — that though apparently bold, or even artificial, when summarised in this way, they are remarkably convincing in their context. Either their aptness is brought home by the very vividness with which they are presented, or occasionally we forget the application entirely in contemplation of the image which irresistibly rises to the mind. In other words Rivas has mastered the exceedingly difficult problem of the attainment of realism in metaphor.

This brings us naturally to a matter often discussed in connection with the *Moro Expósito* : the use which the Spanish Romantics made of realism ⁵. In his preface to the poem Alcalá Galiano had underlined its importance, no doubt partly because Rivas had done the same in practice. The classic example of the realism of the *Moro Expósito* is of course the kitchen of the *arcipreste* during the preparations for the feast ⁶. The bustling housekeeper; the clucking

1. P. 333, ll. 17-28.

2. P. 195, ll. 17-20.

3. P. 197, ll. 1-12.

4. P. 419, ll. 23-8.

5. See above, p. 218.

6. Pp. 239 ff.

of the hens as they run from the cook in the yard; the hearth surrounded by pots and pans with a roaring fire lighting up everything around; the steaming kitchen; the maids preparing the meat, cutting up the vegetables, plucking the birds, scouring the plates and dishes; the surreptitious pickings and stealings, — the boy's finger dipped in the honey, the sip of *aguardiente*. And in the midst of it all is this same housekeeper, endeavouring to be everywhere at once, seasoning the stew and scolding a careless girl at the same moment as she cuffs another, diving into chest, cupboard and wine-cellar and extracting spotless linen, fruit, table-dainties or choicest vintage. There is no detail too trivial or too prosaic for this Romantic to describe.

The realistic, the comic and the grotesque are easily intermingled in the work of the Romantic. The rumours which spread when Lara, Nuño and their attendant arrive at Salas combine all three. Some make them enchanters, some evil spirits; some Jews looking for treasure; others, more imaginative, souls in Purgatory; while one old woman who has watched them pass from her window calls her neighbours to witness that the mules had horns for ears and that the cloaks of those who rode them clothed fleshless skeletons. The scene — related by Zaide — in which Lara is confronted with the heads of his sons, is grotesque enough in essence, but it is related with all the circumstantiality of realism :

El desdichado padre
Vió de sus siete hijos las cabezas
Encima del bufete, en una fila,
Y *por orden de edad, ¡ay triste! puestas* ¹.

especially in the effect of the apparition on the father, where

1. P. 164, ll. 3-6.

the almost ludicrous prolixity gradually rises to a degree of horror almost too great to be endured :

Sin habla Gustios, o mejor, sin vida,
Estuvo sin moverse una gran pieza :
Luego un temblor ligero, imperceptible
Apareció en sus miembros, y en violenta
Convulsión terminó, pero tornando
A la inmovilidad, gira y pasea
Los ojos, cual los ojos de un espectro,
Por una y otra de las siete prendas.
Sonrisa amarga agita un breve instante
Sus labios sin color, y en tanto queman
Sus mejillas dos lágrimas, y luego
Los tiernos hijos a nombrar comienza,
Los ojos enclavando en el que nombra,
Y esperando tal vez, ¡ay! su respuesta,
¡Diego! ¡Martín! ¡Fernando! ¡Suero! ¡Enrico!
¡Veremundo! ¡Gonzalo! y cuando llega
A este nombre, dos veces lo repite;
Y recobrando esfuerzo y vida nueva,
Entrambas manos trémulas extiende,
Agarra de Gonzalo la cabeza,
Y la alza; pero al verla sin el cuerpo,
Un grito arroja y súbito la suelta,
Cual si hecha de encendido hierro fuese.
Empero torna a asirla, se la lleva
A los labios, y un beso en la insensible
Mejilla imprime... La frialdad horrenda,
La ascosa fetidez sufrir no pudo,
Y como cuerpo muerto cayó en tierra ¹.

It is somewhat surprising that the poet does not dwell longer on the avenging apparitions which appear to Ruy-
Velázquez, instead of passing them over lightly as « siete
esqueletos hórridos » « sobre siete ciervos descarnados ² ».

1. P. 164, l. 23 to p. 165, l. 20.

2. P. 437, ll. 13-14.

Indeed the whole problem of Rivas' attitude to what may be called ultra-realism is an obscure and complicated one. There seems to be no settled purpose in his practice at all. What end had he in view in taking the comparatively restrained accounts of the scene just quoted, and clothing them in such horrors, while here and there he omits other crudenesses of detail, and in some places, again, he introduces repulsive elements without apparent advantage?

For if the Seven Heads scene is an outstanding example, it is by no means the only one, of the realism which occasionally exercises Rivas' imagination. A large proportion of the most striking passages are directed at the Church, and will be studied later. Of the others the description of Elvida is among the best, if the scene at the duel be taken together with the scene in the cottage. The latter is the more arresting, the former the truer to life. The appearance of Elvida at the due¹, certainly, verges on the grotesque :

Una horrenda visión de maga o bruja;
Una vieja espantable, cuya ropa,
Que es una roja saya que se ajusta
De fantástico modo al magro cuerpo,
Un negro manto y una toca sucia,
Todo en desorden y rasgado, añaden
De cosa de otro mundo a su figura
La apariencia siniestra, y cuyos brazos
Secos, yertos, desnudos gesticulan
De un modo amenazante ¹.

and her first act oversteps the border-line :

Dando, pues, a sus gritos la cadencia
De una canción vulgar, cantó convulsa
Con satánica voz luego estas coplas,
Horrorizando a la azorada turba...

1. P. 499, ll. 18-27.

No prosiguió la vieja, pues su canto
En carcajadas horribas se muda,
Luego en un alarido penetrante,
Y desapareció, como difunta
Cayendo desmayada ¹.

Equally repulsive, and less moving, is the description of Giafar lying dead :

... El lívido cadáver destrozado,
Casi desnudo del ropaje rico,
La barba llena de sangriento lodo
Con mil cárdenos golpes contundido,
El pecho hinchado y la espantosa herida
Destrozada en reedor ².

The poisoning of the greyhound is less offensive to modern ears but no less forceful :

Lanza un aullido doloroso,
Da tres rápidas vueltas, se estremece,
El pelo se le eriza, cae al suelo,
Revuélcase convulso, y gime, y muere,
Blanca espuma arrojando por la boca,
Con un palmo de lengua seca y verde,
Y quedándose yerto, hinchado, hirsuto,
Con muestras de empezar a corromperse ³.

The purely grotesque has its part, too, in the *Moro Expósito*, without a shadow of realism. Intentionally or not, its effect is somewhat crude. The idea of a sea of blood or a wall of unburied bones dividing Mudarra and Kerima ⁴ has little

1. P. 500, ll. 1-4, 13-17.

2. P. 186, ll. 17-22. Cf. the less striking picture of the death of Rui-Velázquez, pp. 503-4.

3. P. 372, ll. 7-14.

4. P. 71, ll. 13-14.

force as a metaphor, however impressive might be the barrier in reality. Nor has Muley's description of his vision of Giafar bathed in a pool of blood and surrounded by spirits shouting with unholy joy, drinking the villain's blood, and applauding with devillish laughter¹. The soberer description which follows² is more effective, but precisely because the grotesque is left for the merely realistic, which succeeds a passage consisting of a none too well-expressed sustained metaphor. Rivas had not 'at this point in his career learnt how to handle the grotesque artistically : whether he ever learnt it or not we shall discuss in a later chapter.

1. P. 181, ll. 17-28.

2. Pp. 187-8.

VI

Religious ideas and sentiments. — The principle of contrast applied to religious ideas. — Three lines of thought, Mohammedan, Christian and the author's own position. — On which side is the author? — Significance of his satire on the clergy.

We cannot devote a section to the thought of the *Moro Expósito*, for we might almost say that it has none : in Spain as elsewhere Romanticism was guiltless of the *funesta mania de pensar*. The religious basis of the poem, however, involves a strange conflict of religious ideas and sentiments, and to disentangle these is indeed an interesting task. In no point is that principle of contrast, which was referred to in a former section, more consistently observed in the poem than in its theology. It is possible to trace no less than three distinct lines of thought : first, the Moorish; secondly, the Christian; and lastly that of the author himself.

We have first the Moorish theology, with its insistence upon Destiny, ruled by the stars¹, its occult secrets which may be learned from sages :

1. Cf. p. 9, ll. 15-16 :

Mas de Zahira la contraria estrella
Le niega el ver cumplida su esperanza...

P. 213, ll. 13-16, etc., etc.

El mudo giro
De los lucientes astros, sus aspectos,
Sus influencias, su poder, las causas
Que alteran entre sí los elementos ¹.

together with secrets which to-day would be called secular and the possession of which is possible to all ². This Destiny is « cruel », « blind », « inexorable », « unfathomable ³ », « mysterious ⁴ »; it is envisaged by Mudarra, not as the design of God, but as one of the forces which, apart altogether from Him, mould our life. It is put on a level with « la ausencia » and « los rigores del airado tiempo », and may perhaps be powerless against love ⁵, though it can never be opposed or disobeyed. It alone is responsible for Mudarra's loss of his mother ⁶, and equally so for the « accident » which results in Giafar's death. The strange letter which Mudarra writes to Kerima, sounding so callous to modern and Chris-

1. P. 58, ll. 7-10.

2. Las virtudes de plantas y de flores,
De metales, de piedras y de insectos,
Y a elaborar mil bálsamos preciosos,
De las miserias del mortal remedios. (P. 58, ll. 11-14.)

3. P. 79, ll. 7-9.

4. Mudarra sees it leading him away from Kerima (68, 5-7); he refers to it as

Más terrible
Por el misterio que le encubre y guarda.

and feels it calling him imperatively (p. 24, ll. 22-4. Cf. p. 71, ll. 15-18). Eventually the two swear eternal love

« A pesar del Destino. » (P. 72, ll. 9-10.)

5. P. 70, ll. 9-12. But this is love, and not reason, speaking!

6. P. 168, ll. 13-14.

tian ears, is the natural expression of the crude Mohammedan theology of an adolescent ¹.

When Zaide the sage begins his story, however, we are lifted to a somewhat higher plane. Where the boy sees only the stars, the old man recognises the Force which uses them as instruments of His sovereign will. The Eternal God is behind all :

¿Quién penetra tus miras, cielo santo?
 ¡Oh poderoso Alá!... Ciertas, terribles
 Son tus venganzas : sí, la eterna mano
 Que las estrellas rige, inexcusable
 Pesa sobre la frente del malvado.
 ¡Oh joven! De las iras del Eterno
 Es ya ministro tu inocente brazo...
 Alzate, torna en ti; llegó el momento
 De la revelación; llena los altos
 Destinos a que el cielo te encamina;
 Cúmplanse sus decretos soberanos ³.

Together with this dependence upon the supreme will of Alá we have a full recognition on Zaide's part of the influence

-
1. « Kerima : yo a tu padre he dado muerte,
 Mas no fui yo, fué solo su destino...
 Perdóname, mi bien : el justo cielo
 Dirigió el duro golpe — ¿Mas qué digo? —
 Para matarle sólo fui engendrado :
 Soy del noble señor de Lara hijo... »
 (P. 200, ll. 19-20; 23-6.)

It will be seen very shortly how well Mudarra has learnt Zaide's lesson, for all the crudeness with which he expresses it.

2. By a common poetic figure, both Christians and Mohammedans refer to God as *el cielo*, *los cielos*, etc., throughout the poem. For epithets used with this word, cf. 298, 8 and frequently elsewhere (*bienhechor*); 336, 13 (*justo*); 398, 24 (*vengador*); cf. « *el destino venturoso*, » p. 28, l. 1.

3. P. 97, ll. 7-18.

of the stars. He speaks to Mudarra of the « desastres » which ruled his birth ¹; they go into the garden to speak « de los astros allí en presencia ² », it is possible for a mortal to learn the decrees of fate both by palmistry and by astrology ³; but none can resist those decrees or vary their course.

Mas ¿Quién detiene el curso a las estrellas?
¿Qué mísero mortal mudar consigue
Lo que está escrito en imborrables letras ⁴?

And this is well, for in the end the decrees of fate will be found to be righteous, the working of a Power whose laws are justice itself. The stars ruled the love of Lara and Zahira, says Zaide, foreseeing the possibility through Mudarra's birth of giving to the world clear proofs

De que los justos cielos sin castigo
Los crímenes atroces nunca dejan,
Y que a los inocentes desdichados
Consuelo siempre y vengador reservan ⁵.

And when the story of the Foundling's parentage becomes known throughout the city all are lost in wonder of Heaven's inscrutable ways ⁶.

1. P. 98, ll. 2-6 :

Escucha de mi labio
La maldad de los hombres, los desastres
Que presidieron a tu origen claro,
Y la alta obligación que el cielo impuso
A tu nacer.

2. P. 97, ll. 28-9.

3. P. 108, l. 25 to p. 109, l. 2; p. 109, l. 29 to p. 110, l. 8. Cf. p. 173, l. 14.

4. P. 153, ll. 15-18.

5. P. 169, l. 30 to p. 170, l. 8; cf. p. 302, ll. 16-22; p. 303, ll. 1-4; p. 514, ll. 7-8.

6.

Y los antiguos
Sucesos recordando, admiran todos
Del cielo inescrutable los juicios. (P. 205, ll. 26-8.)

With the return of Lara and the faithful Nuño we enter the realms of Christian theology. It is surprising at the outset to find the latter using the language of Mohammedan fatalism

Benignas

Las estrellas permiten que a tu lado
Tengas en mí un esclavo que te sirva
Y que contigo llore. ¹

1. P. 231, l. 26 to p. 232, l. 3; cf. p. 234, l. 8, where there may perhaps be a reference intended to Destiny also. The theology of the honest Nuño throughout the poem is impregnated with fatalistic and astrological ideas. He goes to Rome to implore the Pope's protection for Lara, but he is made to explain the failure of his efforts by the contrary aspect of the stars and the opposition of his Destiny.

Lo enemiga

Que fué la suerte injusta demostrando
A todas sus honradas tentativas
Y como inexorables las estrellas
En contrariar su plan se complacían. (P. 263, ll. 14-18.)

He then resolves to make a pilgrimage to Palestine and « seek peace in the deserts among the penitents there ». Accordingly he makes his confession and sets out, but is taken prisoner by Saracens, and this happening is likewise attributed to « Fortune » and the « stars » :

Pero aún no satisfecha, la Fortuna
Ni las estrellas ver logró propicias,
Del Adriático mar las bravas olas
De invierno duro las tonantes iras
Le opusieron constantes... etc.

(P. 264, ll. 13-24.)

Eventually he reaches Palestine, however, with a companion. They visit the Holy Places, and spend three years in solitude with a hermit (« extremely holy » and « extremely old ») after whose death the friend returns to Spain, and Nuño spends no less than ten years in a monastery on Mt. Carmel. One would suppose that so long a training would have dispersed any remnants of superstition which

But the next moment he is reminding Lara that they are Christians, and not only urging him to a resignation which

might have been in his mind. But no! He decides to return to Spain, impelled by

Recuerdos de la patria,
Anhelos de saber *si ya propicia*
Con Gustos era la mudable suerte
Y cansancio y horror de aquellos climas.
(P. 270, ll. 7-10.)

Later we find him resolved to end his days in a monastery near Santiago de Compostela, where he has visited the Apostle's tomb, until he hears of Count Sancho's death and returns to Burgos. Later in the narrative he lectures Lara in orthodox language upon the latter's sins, the reality of his repentance and the certainty of their forgiveness (p. 280, l. 29 to p. 281, l. 5); on the inscrutable ways of « the Lord » (p. 281, ll. 6, 14) and the possibility that Lara's son has become a Christian (ll. 7 ff.). So also Egidio, the companion of Nuño, who

esperando
Ver aplacado de la suerte el odio
Y más benevolentes las estrellas,
Tornó a su patria.
(P. 512, ll. 3-6.)

The same inconsistency may be seen in Rui-Velázquez' speeches, but this is probably intentional, and not without its effect; in any case Rui-Velázquez is not, like Nuño, on the side of the angels, and an inconsistency of the kind would surprise one less. Examples are his exclamation :

El cielo ha destruido
Y la mágica negra nuestros planes. (P. 407, ll. 3-4.)

his reliance upon « la ciega Fortuna » when he confesses that the forces of Heaven are against him. (P. 419, l. 4.) Cf. p. 418, ll. 5-7.

¿El que el Destino,
Según predijo el sabio nigromante,
En mi daño forjó?

is by no means exclusively Christian, but also consoling him with the orthodox doctrine of eternal life :

« En ti vuelve, señor : con la divina
Voluntad es forzoso conformarse,
Pues que somos cristianos. La alegría,
La riqueza, el poder, los hijos, todo
Viene de Dios, y Dios lo da y lo quita.
Humilde resignarse debe el hombre
Con su misericordia o su justicia.
Tus hijos con infieles peleando,
Cual cristianos murieron. Hoy habitan
El cielo entre los mártires gloriosos,
Y con palma y laurel que no marchita
El curso de los siglos, la presencia
Del que los astros rige, el mar humilla
Y enfrena el huracán, están gozando;
Y ¿tú su suerte lloras? Hoy benigna
La mano del Eterno te conduce
A tu casa a morir; ¿y tú querías
Tornar a la prisión ¹?

Resignation to the will of God, actual or potential, is the primary characteristic of the theology of Lara ², and, though this resignation appears to be expressed in orthodox Christian language ³, one feels that it is never far from the dependence upon Alá of a Zaide. It is summed up in almost his first words :

Con tu divina
Voluntad, santo Dios, mi humilde pecho,
Y con tu providencia se resigna ⁴.

When his long-lost son declares that he will avenge him, the

1. P. 233, l. 26 to p. 234, l. 13.

2. *E. g.*, notably in Romance VI, pp. 231 ff. Cf. pp. 266-8.

3. I say « appears to be » because it does not startle one by violently heterodoxical expressions. In reality it sins much by omission, from the orthodox standpoint.

4. P. 232, ll. 16-18.

The father's first thought, however, is for his son's religion :

Oh Dios, prorrumpe;
Nacido del pecado en los errores,
No quiero verle hasta que vuestro sea.
Al venir a mis brazos, ¿fué tu norte,
Hijo, la santa fe de tus abuelos ¹?

Then the old man realises that his son may be his avenger; and, though at first his new-found joy precludes all thought of vengeance, he quickly hails Mudarra as the « ministro de las iras del Eterno ² », a view which Zaide confirms in the terms noticed above. But the Christian spirit again asserts itself; no further word of vengeance falls from Lara's lips : instead, he begs the beholders to thank God on his behalf for having sent him an heir to his house and name, and to pray that his son may never be forsaken by Him ³.

The requirements of the plot would make it difficult for the author to sustain this contrast, and Lara's ideas upon vengeance from this time onwards are hardly distinguishable from Zaide's. God is a righteous Judge, is his theme, for a time permitting evil to triumph, but ultimately casting it down. « Esto es, señor », he says to the Count,

1. P. 299, ll. 16-27.

2. P. 302, l. 1.

3. Vos ¡oh arcipreste! al Dios de tierra y cielo
Con sacros himnos y con santas voces
Gracias solemnes dad, y suplicadle
Que a este hijo de mi amor nunca abandon :.
Y vosotros ¡oh ilustres caballeros,
Mis parientes y fieles servidores!
Ved al que el brazo del Señor me envía
Para heredero de mi casa y nombre.
Reconocedle como a tal. (P. 303, ll. 17-25.)

que el brazo del Eterno
Siempre da a la inocencia vengadores,
Y que por más que la maldad tolere,
Al fin las tramas del inicuo rompe ¹.

This principle is admitted by others, notably by the Count, who warns Mudarra in solemn terms (addressing him as one would address a Christian) of the danger in acting as the avenger of Heaven while unconvinced of the justice of one's cause ². By Rui-Velázquez it is admitted throughout. Has avenging Heaven brought Gonzalo back to the earth? he asks ³.

Ministro de las iras celestiales,
Ese mancebo, aparición o encanto,
O de venganzas y exterminios ángel,
O demonio salido del infierno ⁴.

There are a number of references to distinctively Christian (i. e. Catholic) practices, though strangely few to Catholic dogmas, — scarcely an allusion, for example, to the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity. As to the practices of religion, it may be noted that Lara apostrophises his dead sons, and begs them, as one would beg the saints, to bear his petitions to the feet of Omnipotent God ⁵; he interpolates

1. P. 313, ll. 13-16.

2. P. 316, ll. 20-25 : « Pero, joven,
Ved que aquel que se arroja temerario
A la alta empresa de mostrar al orbe
Los jüicios de Dios, si muy seguro
No está de la verdad ¡qué horror! se expone
A que el cielo confunda su osadía.

3. ¿ Lo ha vuelto el cielo vengador al mundo? (P. 417, l. 29.)

4. P. 418, ll. 18-21.

5. P. 234, ll. 25-30. ¡ Mártires gloriosos!
Mis ruegos elevad a las divinas

in his narrative a prayer for the eternal salvation of the Count Don Sancho, who is dead ¹; he refers to the Church's « mysteries ² » and to the holy water used in baptism ³, but neither he nor any other character refers to the remaining sacraments, and no reader would deduce from his poem that the attitude of the Christian characters to the principal « mystery », i. e., of the Holy Eucharist, was other than that of a Protestant. Rui-Velázquez once protests that « Dios y la Virgen y los cielos » know his innocence ⁴. Both the confessors to whom he betakes himself naturally use the language of current piety. Ildovaldo counsels him to approach the Mother of God with his prayers and to take her — the « spotless Virgin » — for shield and protection ⁵. The noble Abbot proposes to conciliate Heaven by means

Plantas del alto Dios omnipotente,
Y pedidle que pronto me permita
Con vos unirme y que me saque pronto
De este mar de desastres y desdichas.

1. Contóme, pues, la muerte de don Sancho —
(¡ Dios en el tribunal de su justicia
Le haya mirado con benignos ojos,
Y en la mansión celeste lo reciba!) (P. 259, ll. 9-12.)

The use of the perfect implies a quite heterodox doctrine of the future state, unless it is a clumsily expressed reference to Purgatory.

2. P. 281, l. 29 : « Nuestros altos misterios. »

3. P. 281, l. 30; p. 282, l. 1. « El agua santa que los lazos rompe
Del pecado. »

4. P. 406, l. 26. But whom did he mean, we may ask, by « los cielos »? « Los santos » would have been more appropriate, since he had already mentioned God.

5. P. 446, ll. 20-5; p. 447, ll. 16-18; p. 451, ll. 25-30; cf. p. 454, ll. 9-16. Apart from these frequent mentions of the Virgin there is nothing distinctively Catholic about Ildovaldo.

of the prayers of the community together with the lighting of a hundred candles ¹, that Rui-Velázquez may obtain

ayuda en vida,
Y en la muerte eterna misericordia ².

In connection with this last scene, there are details of ecclesiastical ceremonial which it is hardly necessary to recount in full; the present writer is by no means sure that either here or in the final scene these details are correctly described.

We now come to the passages representing the standpoint of the author, in which we may study how far he takes the Christian standpoint and reproduces the Christianity of the days of which he is writing. It will be found that this theology is nearer to that of Mohammedanism than to the full Catholic faith which we might have expected. He seems to have placed himself between the disputants, as it were, and to have used now the language of one, now that of the other, or more often to have adopted as much as was common to both.

There is an Almighty and inexorable Deity whose finger points the course of the sun ³, whose designs are impenetrable⁴, whose justice is as sure as His punishments are terrible ⁵, but who is always the God of the Psalmist :

1. P. 464, ll. 9-16.

2. P. 469, ll. 11-12.

3. P. 23, ll. 19-21 :

El sol, a su pesar, siguiendo el curso
Que el dedo omnipotente le señala,
Se hundió en el mar Atlántico...

4. P. 182, ll. 21-2 : ¿Quién penetra
Del Ser omnipotente los designios?

5. ... La justicia tremenda del Eterno,
Las terribles venganzas y castigos,
Que a los tiranos sanguinarios guarda.

(P. 182, ll. 17-19.) Cf. p. 416, ll. 1-3 ; p. 510, ll. 11-12.

He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh :
The Lord shall have derision over them ;

Over man, who in his finite mind makes plans which go astray :

Y en tanto de su necia confianza
Inexorables burlanse los cielos ¹.

And over the wicked, whose schemes and plots He turns to their own confusion :

Mas la trama execrable el justo cielo
Omnipotente y vengador previno,
Y do creyó Giafar lograr un crimen,
Halló su confusión y su castigo ².

Yet this Deity is shown to be on the side of the good against the evil. He overrules all the events of the story. His are the interventions of what we call « chance ». He metes out punishment to Lara with dreadful severity, but with no more severity than justice, as Lara himself is made to recognise. It will be noted, in passing, that Rivas' Deity does not condone nominal Christianity; both the « Christian » Rui-Velázquez and the heathen Giafar are rewarded according to their deeds, and the lights up to which they lived.

This is not of course an argument against the Christian nature of the author's standpoint — rather the reverse, for by no known standard of official Christianity can Rui-Velázquez be enrolled on the side of the angels. But there

1. P. 80, ll. 5-28.

2. P. 184, ll. 27-30. Cf. the account of the troubles of Rui-Velázquez (pp. 378 ff.) which are represented as being sent from Heaven.

No, la oculta justicia de los cielos
También quiso oprimirle y castigarle
Con disgustos domésticos...

is no need to labour the clearly demonstrated tendency of the author's theology. So nearly does Rivas approach the Moslem standpoint that he once refers to this Deity as « el Destino ¹ », and adopts the heathen idea of « blind Fortune ² ». It is only comparatively late in the poem that he adapts himself noticeably to his Christian environment. Heaven has led the two lovers, for example, to embrace Christianity ³, and thus ransomed them from the devil ⁴. The baptismal and nuptial ceremonies are described with some care, though with far less enthusiasm than many secular ceremonies in the romance. But it is noteworthy that when Rivas relates the refusal of Kerima to give her hand to Mudarra (a situation full of possibilities) the author

1. As p. 210, ll. 28-9 :

... un amor funesto, que el Destino
Inexorable contrarió.

This is not to be confused, of course, with the « destino inexorable y duro », subordinated to the will of Heaven, which Rivas speaks of in connection with his own exile (p. 266, ll. 15 ff.).

2. P. 4, l. 16.

3. Volvamos, pues, a nuestros dos amantes,
A quien el cielo por tan raros modos
Trajo a abrazar el santo cristianismo.
Y a unirse en insoluble matrimonio. (P. 532, ll. 1-4.)

4. *i. e.*, through Holy Baptism. The day of their baptism is :

el día venturoso
En que iban a ganarse para el cielo
Dos almas rescatadas del demonio. (P. 533, ll. 4-6.)

And again :

... Allí convierte el agua de la vida
Dos almas que eran presa del demonio,
En ángeles tan puros e inocentes
Como los que de Dios cercan el trono. (P. 539, ll. 5-8.)

merely professes his inability to say more, and concludes with the remark that Mudarra, strengthened by « celestial grace » or temporal consolations, was sufficiently resigned to his lot to marry another and so continue his father's name and lineage. A professedly and emphatically Catholic writer might have been expected at least to show some satisfaction at Kerima's decision. This, however, raises the general question of the ending of the poem, which has been dealt with elsewhere ¹.

There is one further matter which does not fall under the heading of theology but which is nevertheless intimately concerned with the religious standpoint which Rivas himself takes up. This is his frequent sly satire of the clergy.

It is one of the most curious features in the whole poem. At times it seems strangely out of harmony with the heroic character and style of the romance, and the fact that it is directed entirely at this one class of person makes it all the stranger. For Saavedra was by no means, as will be seen, and as has been partially observed already, an anti-clerical. Yet as Azorín well remarks :

En *El Moro Expósito* circula un ambiente anticlerical; se ve en muchos detalles, algunos en verdad de mal gusto; peor que de mal gusto : francamente impíos ².

What is the explanation of this trait ? It may have been prompted by some whimsical mood or by some private enmity of which we know nothing, or the semi-explanation which the author himself gave may be the true one. Let us first see in what the satire consists.

The *arcipreste* — in constant request during the latter part of the romance — is the principal object of Rivas'

1. See above, pp. 230 ff.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

irony. He is represented as a dull and pompous orator, much given to quoting Scripture, but withal shrewd and worldly-wise on occasion. We all know Rivas' *arcipreste*, for the same picture is repeated till we are weary of it. This is the fullest and most broadly sketched portrait :

Discreto, para darle el Arcipreste
 El tiempo indispensable, concluidas
 De Gustios y del pueblo las plegarias,
 Con gran solemnidad y melodía
 Cantó un largo *Tedéum*, y un discurso
 O plática muy larga y muy prolija
 Hizo a sus feligreses que ignorantes
 Bostezaron tal vez, aunque de citas
 De la santa Escritura estaba llena,
 Que era gran sabidor. Después aplica
 A los ojos inútiles del viejo
 Salmos, y bendiciones, y reliquias,
 Y da con ellas paz a los hidalgos;
 Y por ganar más tiempo, a una capilla
 Conduce a Gustios y a otros personajes,
 Y allí difusamente traza y pinta
 Los reparos y nuevos ornamentos
 De que la iglesia aquella necesita;
 Entablando sagaz de estas materias
 Una conversación entretenida ¹.

1. P. 243, ll. 1-20. Cf. p. 359, ll. 25-30; p. 360, ll. 1-2 :

Cuando Zaide y Salido concluyeron,
 Tomó en todo la mano el Arcipreste,
 Y echó a los dos partidos ya aquietados
 Una florida plática no breve :

Con citas de las santas Escrituras,
 De la paz demostró los dulces bienes,
 Y matando dos pájaros de un golpe,
 Convenció a los paganos y a los fieles.

P. 261, ll. 6-9 :

El discreto arcipreste una prolija
 Plática de conforto y de consuelo,

But the *arcipreste* is by no means the only cleric to be satirised : every one of the churchmen in the poem, save the lowly hermit Ildovaldo, has to pass in his turn under the fire of Rivas' merciless, if not particularly skilful realism. The visit of Rui-Velázquez to the majestic Abbot is full of satire, — which indeed is implicit in the situation. The dress of the « potente Abad », the small army of retainers of different kinds which surrounds him, the contrast between « pastor y guerrero », « prelado » and « rico-home » are crowned by a description of the prelate's person in which the malice is unmistakeable. The scene which follows is ironical from beginning to end, so obviously so that it would be the merest

Toda empedrada de oportunas citas
De la santa Escritura dirigióle...

P. 274, ll. 7-8, 11-12 :

El arcipreste demandó silencio
Y su elocuencia demostró en seguida...
Mezclando, como siempre, en su discurso
De las sagradas letras doctas citas.

P. 529, ll. 23-30 :

Al terminarse la solemne misa,
Oficio de difuntos, y responsos,
El Arcipreste al púlpito subiendo,
Hizo de los Infantes el elogio,
En un sermón patético, sublime,
Lleno de erudición, y nada corto,
Con oportunas citas exornado
De la santa Escritura, en que era docto.

P. 351, ll. 13-16 :

Y también pronunció largos discursos,
Con general aplauso, el arcipreste
Citando las Sagradas Escrituras,
Que, cual habemos dicho, era su fuerte.

self-indulgence to retail it. Never was penitent's confession so described in anything but a burlesque! And there follows a triple picture of three clerical satellites of whom two have once more all the features of caricature, and notably that of antithesis :

The *padre receptor* :

era persona
Alta y recia, de rostro macilento,
Aguda la nariz, la barba roja,
Los ojos pensadores y sumisos,
Agiles miembros mas presencia tosca ¹.

The *padre dispensero* :

era rechoncho,
Su panza abultadísima y redonda,
Y cuellicorto tanto, que empotrada
Iba en los hombros su cabeza gorda :
Su corte todo en fin tal, que cualquiera,
De las despensas y bodegas hondas
Mirándole salir, pensar podía
Ver un pipote, una tinaja u orja,
Que por arte diabólica o encanto
Lograba andar como andan las personas.
Su ancho rostro bermejo y rubicundo,
La nariz chata, respingada y roma,
Los ojazos alegres y brillantes,
Negras pobladas cejas, y la boca
Espumosa, grandísima, con dientes
Ralos y llenos de amarilla toba ²...

How far we are at this point from the general tone of the poem!

The « ágil secretario », third of the trio just mentioned,

1. P. 467, ll. 12-16.

2. P. 467, l. 17 to p. 468, l. 12. Cf. p. 470, l. 16.

is strangely (suspiciously, remarks Azorín) like the abbot, young and inclined to be elegant in his dress, with a « voz sonora, Aunque un poco nasal y recalcada ¹ ».

So with the other churchmen, down to the score of monks at the baptismal ceremony :

las albas desceñidas,
Gruesa la panza, el cerviguillo gordo ².

At one point the author feels that he has gone so far as to make it necessary even to excuse himself. « No es mi intento satirizar al estado monástico », he tells us in a note, « sino pintar las costumbres del siglo décimo... presentar a los monjes según eran generalmente en aquellos tiempos de tinieblas y de confusión ³ ». He cites his sources at length and in detail, but at the end of his *apologia* he leaves the reader still wondering what after all was his real purpose.

Can his explanation be the true one, or is Rivas practising his own theories of the grotesque and of « realism even in descriptions of the ideal »? The reader must judge.

1. Pp. 468 ff. *passim*.

2. P. 535, ll. 5-6.

3. Pp. 473 ff. Author's note 35.

VII

Characterisation. — Various types of character in the *Moro Expósito*.

— The Mudarra of the Spanish sources and Mudarra the Romantic hero. — The rôle of Kerima. — Lara, a « picturesque » penitent. — Rivas' villains : Giafar and Rui-Velázquez. — Lesser characters. — Conclusion.

We do well to treat of characterisation last, for Rivas was not a psychologist but a portrait-painter. We may surmise, moreover, that he knew it. The characterisation of the *Moro Expósito* is not subtle, nor was it probably intended to be. Each personage is clearly and unmistakeably outlined, and often painted in striking colours. The picturesque dominates here as elsewhere. Once we have the portrait, we know all that we can be told of its subject : we can predict what he will do in given circumstances ; there is no fear (except in one instance) of our prediction being falsified, no possibility that the character will develop with the story. Each personage is either (1) a hero or (2) a villain or (3) a character merely painted to be looked at. Let us consider each class in turn.

Mudarra is the hero *par excellence*¹ and the only character

1. Needless to say, we cannot agree with the subjoined criticism (*Revista española*, May 24 1834) which, however, is interesting as being one of the first judgments on its subject :

Siendo el protagonista Mudarra, no está su carácter trazado con

in whom the average reader will feel any real interest. He is everything, of course, that a hero should be :

Naturaleza de sus ricos dones,
Liberal y benigna, le dotara;
Beldad, y robustez, y lozanía
Su juventud ternísima acompañan :
El cielo afable engrandeció su mente
Con alto ingenio, concedió a su alma
Virtudes y dulzura, y a su pecho
El germen de las ínclitas hazañas :
Ni le niega Fortuna sus favores,
Pues goza del cariño y de la gracia
Del insigne Almanzor, en quien el peso
Del imperio musulmíco descansa ¹.

Long before the end of the first canto his prowess has been sufficiently demonstrated to justify this description; and his modesty, combined with his bravery, not only wins the admiration of the public, but captivates the beautiful and equally desirable Kerima. There is no half-heartedness, no self-questioning in her love :

Mas siempre, en ella, entre el tropel confuso
De recuerdos sin fin, mira a Mudarra,
Que es el blanco de todas sus ideas,
Que es el anhelo sólo de su alma ².

Even before Mudarra learns the secret of his parentage his

inferioridad, relativamente al modo que lo están el de Rui-Velázquez, y aun el de Giafar y Gustios de Lara? ¿En su línea no tienen más vivacidad, más relieve, por decirlo así, los de Vasco Pérez y su madre Elvida? Concluida la lectura de la leyenda no se sabe a punto fijo cual es el delineamiento del personaje de Mudarra. Su amor no es voraz; su venganza contra Giafar y Rui-Velázquez más es fatídica que hija de las proporciones gigantescas que el lector se siente inclinado a suponerle. Lo mismo diremos de Kerima.

1. Romance I, p. 5.

2. Romance I, p. 37.

nobler passions are moved by Zaide's story of the sons of Lara. Impetuously he determines to avenge them :

¿ Y qué, gritó Mudarra, en los cristianos
 No hay honra, no hay valor, no hay quien emprenda
 De tan esclarecido caballero,
 Ya que no la venganza la defensa?
 Yo volaré a Castilla, y lanza a lanza,
 A Velázquez, al Conde, a cuantos sean
 De tanto crimen y crueldad culpables,
 Combatiré cual bueno... Tal empresa,
 A que el honor y la virtud me llaman,
 El cielo mismo acometer me ordena.
 Sí, volaré a vengar al noble anciano ¹...

So far Rivas has not departed to any great extent from his sources, where the *rôle* of Mudarra is to be a more vivid copy of the favourite Gonzalvico ². Thus Matos Fragoso makes the mother, Arlaja, discourse upon his courage, and relate how he has been heard swearing vengeance, even as a child, upon his brothers' murderers.

ARLAJA

... Que como de guerreador
 En él las muestras ha visto,

1. Romance IV, p. 167.

2. His similarity to the seventh son is insisted on in nearly all versions of the story. Morales' description of his character is, as has been said, an advance upon Mariana (p. 245 above).

Creciendo en Córdoba Mudarra González, tanto en gentileza y buenas maneras de caballero, como en los años, era muy amado del rey Hiscen su primo, y de todos los suyos...

Entretanto sirviendo siempre al rey Hiscen, su primo, con más voluntad y más buenas gracias naturales, que suelen mucho valer en los deudos y criados para con sus señores : el rey lo amaba y apreciaba más, y en todo le mostraba el mucho amor que le tenía, y por mostrarse en el mucho ánimo y afición a las armas, lo armó caballero muy temprano, con gran solemnidad a la costumbre de los moros

Pues desde la tierna infancia
Esgrimía embravecido
El duro acero, trocando
Por las espadas los libros :
Tanto, que a solas un día
Le hallaron (¡ raro prodigio !)
Que estando viendo un retrato
De aquel caso tan impío
De los siete Infantes muertos,
Furioso, y enternecido,
Con un diluvio en los ojos,
Y en la mano un papel limpio
Pidiendo venganza al Cielo,
Llamaba al traidor a gritos.

She has eventually told him the entire story which has produced upon him the expected effect.

Ya él sabe quien es su padre,
Que yo misma se lo he dicho,
Y le conté la tragedia
De sus hermanos vendidos
Por el traidor Ruy-Velázquez :
Y a cuanto mi voz le dijo,
Lo que yo empecé en palabras,
El lo acababa en suspiros.

A piece of dialogue in the *Bastardo Mudarra* is more eloquent than much description :

MUDARRA

Yo me llevo este anillo para señas
De que soy de la sangre de los Laras,
Si las de mi valor, fueren pequeñas,
Que alguna vez serán señas más claras.

ARLAJA

Hijo, detente; mira que te empeñas
En gran peligro.

MUDARRA

Madre, si reparas
El tronco de quien soy rama, ¿qué dudas?
O tú me engañas, pues que no me ayudas.

ARLAJA

Yo te digo verdad.

MUDARRA

Y yo me parto
A vengar mis hermanos, madre mía.

ARLAJA

Con tus hazañas honrarás mi parto,
Aunque me mate el parto de este día.

MUDARRA

Sabe Dios el dolor con que me aparto.

ARLAJA

Espera un año más.

MUDARRA

Madre, desvía.

ARLAJA

Siento tu ausencia.

MUDARRA

Tarde me das cuenta :
El gusto te tocó, y a mí la afrenta ¹.

So, too, Hurtado Velarde, who shows us a similar picture
— that of a boy less than twenty years of age who has killed

1. *Op. cit.*, Act III, p. 493.

the King of Sigora in token of his prowess and is thirsting for vengeance upon his father's enemies. It is unnecessary to describe a hero of this type in further detail.

All these plays embroider the chronicles after a similar pattern, so that Rivas finds nothing more than a semi-barbaric skull-splitting youth, all muscle and passions, whom he has to work into his poem. In the process, however, he partially transforms him, and presents his readers with a fully-fledged Romantic hero. We recognise in this Mudarra more than a Mudarra of the Middle Ages, and equally so more than one of his English or French Romantic ancestors. Mystery is the first impression which he makes. The secret of his origin cannot be kept from the reader for long, but the mysterious cloak of darkness is upon him when he is first presented. And he wears it in characteristic Romantic fashion :

Mas, ¡ay!... un velo misterioso encubre
Su incierto origen : del soberbio alcázar
En los jardines desvalido infante
Se halló al nacer... ¡Oh suerte desdichada ¹!

And this uncertainty as to his antecedents is partly the cause of the youth's strange sadness. His heart swells with desire to achieve glory; proud hopes throng his spirit; but the clouds are ever appearing on his brow :

De pronto el azaroso pensamiento
De que al crimen tal vez, o a la desgracia,
Debe el vivir, sus ilusiones borra,
Nubla sus ojos y su faz espanta.
Así cuando en zenit su pompa ostenta
Y argentado esplendor la luna ufana,
Obscura nube llega silenciosa,
Y toda su beldad ofusca y tapa ².

1. Romance I, p. 6.

2. Romance I, p. 6.

Part of his sadness too, is due to the death of his protectress (really his mother) Zahira ¹. But it is in the main more deeply motivated than might at first appear, for it is bound up with the *sensibilidad* and emotionalism which are his most strongly marked characteristics ².

So, even as he is thinking on Kerima's beauty ³, he sees the shade of Zahira menacing him, and strikes a Romantic pose ⁴. So, when Zaide shows him the fatal chest, he kisses it and covers it with his tears ⁵. So, when his father is over-

1. Romance I, pp. 6-7.

2. This is summed up by the poet in lines which describe the state of mind of Mudarra, as, one day, on the occasion of a banquet, he is discovered lost in meditation, seeing none of the dances nor hearing the music :

Piensa en su origen degradado, obscuro,
Piensa en Zahira, y piensa en que le llama
Un terrible destino, más terrible
Por el misterio que le encubre y guarda,
Pero piensa también en la belleza,
Lozana juventud, modestia y gracias,
Que adornan a Kerima, y en su seno
Siente una conmoción que le acobarda.

(Romance I, p. 27.)

3. Piensa ver ¡desdichado! que la sombra
De Zahira le sigue y amenaza,
Y que en torno le acosan y rodean
Espantosos espectros y fantasmas.

4. La espalda apoya a un solitario tronco,
Falto de fuerzas en tan gran borrasca,
Los brazos contra el pecho ahogado cruza,
La frente inclina, y consternado calla.

(Romance I, p. 25.)

5. Arrojóse Mudarra sollozando
Sobre el arca magnífica, la besa
Y la humedece con su llanto. (Romance IV, p. 175.)

come at the meeting with him, he too is overcome, in a different way ¹. His terror at having killed Giafar, if comprehensible, is manifested somewhat strangely :

Mas ¡en qué situación llega el mancebo!
 ¡Oh santo Dios, en qué terrible estado!
 Pálido, alienta apenas, en torna gira
 Los ojos, que terror pintan y espanto;
 Desceñido el turbante al viento ondea,
 Desnudo el hierro muéstrase en su mano;
 Y hierro, y mano, y manga, todo es sangre,
 Y sus miembros temblor, nieve su tacto...

* * *

Alza la faz, lanza un gemido, y dice :
 « Al padre de Kerima muerte he dado. »
 Y con nuevo terror quiere esconderse
 Del tierno Zaide en los amigos brazos ².

This is of a piece with the hero's state of mind throughout Zaide's long recital. Terrible it is, indeed, and interspersed with many groans and sighs from the relator ³ but it is punctuated with signs of ill-concealed emotion from Mudarra which reveal clearly an unevenly proportioned mentality ⁴. And what is to be said of the scene in which

1. En el seno
 De Zaide afligidísimo se esconde
 Mudarra, hundido en el terror. (Romance VII, p. 297.)

2. Romance III, p. 97.

3. E. g., pp. 142, l. 2; 163, 20; 167, 28-9.

4. At the beginning of the story we have :

Mudarra en sus facciones juveniles,
 Vuelta la espalda al disco plateado,
 De obscuridad cubiertas, escondía
 Inquietud, atención, dolor y espanto.
 (Romance III, p. 99.)

Los afectos
De horror, piedad, orgullo y heroísmo...
Se apoderaron de su pecho,

and where he turns northward leaving Kerima behind him?

Then, in order, the passages which follow :

Calló un momento Zaide : estremecióse
Mударра, y lleno de sorpresa y pasmo
Miró el anillo. (Romance III, p. 105.)

Mударра, llena
De confusión y asombro el alma toda,
De aquella narración el fin anhela. (Romance IV, p. 141.)

Quedó Zaide en silencio, y en silencio
Trémulo, confundido, helado queda
También, cubierto de sudor, Mударра,
Y con el alma de terror deshecha. (Romance IV, p. 166.)

On learning of his parentage

¿ Yo su hijo?... ¡Gran Dios!... ¡Zaide! el mancebo
Exclama absorto, helado, y manifiesta
Tan grande agitación, que más no puede
Su labio articular; y calla y tiembla.
Respóndele el anciano : Sí, hijo suyo,
Y de Zahira. A nombre tal se llena
La medida del pecho de Mударра,
Casi pierde el sentido...
Su voz ahogóse en lágrimas... (Romance IV, p. 168.)

Finally, of the following night, we read :

Las varias y terribles sensaciones
Que en el espacio de la noche aquella
El alma generosa de Mударра
Sacudieron con rápida violencia,
Su vigor agotaron; y abatido
En el moral cansancio, que la fuerza
A la imaginación roba, yacía
Entre el tropel confuso que le cerca, etc.
(Romance IV, p. 175.)

Lanzó un suspiro
El garzón angustiado : todo el día
Guardó tenaz silencio, sumergido
En un mar de dolor ¹.

Finally we must note how readily Mudarra receives impressions from Nature. It has already been shown that natural phenomena are pressed by the poet into service throughout the poem, and nowhere more than where the hero is exposed to their influence.

La soledad, que el campo le presenta
Para entregarse a sus delirios, mueve
Al mancebo gentil enamorado,
A anhelar cada instante recorrerle ².

And again, more markedly :

Desde que a Salas llegó, correr los campos
Y por sus quiebras ásperas perderse,
Ora con un azor o una ballesta,
Ora con cazadores y lebreles,
Es su contento y diversión. El cuadro
Que la Naturaleza allí le ofrece,
Y que el influjo del invierno atrista,
Le interesa, le exalta y le suspende.
El gran sacudimiento que a su alma,
Buena y sensible cuanto noble y fuerte,
Diera en tan corto espacio de sucesos
Extraños y terribles la creciente,
Que a un mar desconocido le arrastraba,
Acrecentó los grados de su temple ³.

This is possibly Rivas' most noteworthy addition to Mudarra's character of all.

1. Romance V, p. 202.

2. Romance VIII, p. 334.

3. Romance VIII, p. 330.

The personages who share with Mudarra the distinction of being among the sheep are drawn, as is natural, with less detail, and praised with a persistency the more monotonous because the eulogies are almost wholly unrelieved by anything like profundity of characterisation. Zahira, of course, does not, properly speaking, appear. She is a perfect figure, nobly planned, but a lay figure withal. The touch of aloofness and melancholy in her composition should, however, be noted :

Una princesa insigne
De aquellas que la mano sacrosancta
Del cielo bienhechor concede al mundo,
Para consuelo de la especie humana.
Bella como el lucero refulgente
Fin de la noche y precursor del alba,
Y cual la flor hermosa del desierto,
Melancólica siempre y retirada
Pasó los días de su vida breve
Lejos de la opulencia y de las galas
De la espléndida corte ¹.

And later she is described as :

La hermosa flor del cordobés imperio,
Zahira, de virtud y gracias reina,
La tierna hermana de Almanzor glorioso,
Astro de la bondad y la belleza ².

Almanzor may be fittingly described as « glorioso » — the epithet just used of him above — or as « insigne », « grande », « generoso », which are the epithets he receives at the beginning of the poem before the narrative breaks into a eulogy of his fame :

Pues sus altas proezas, sus laureles,
La gloria que su brazo da a la patria,

1. Romance I, p. 7.

2. Romance IV, p. 168.

La justicia y virtud con que gobierna,
La protección con que el saber ampara,
Su generosa condición, su aspecto,
Su nombre y los recuerdos de su hermana,
Cual genio tutelar le representan
Al pueblo musulman, que lo idolatra ¹.

Throughout the poem he makes spasmodic appearances, generally of a theatrical character :

Almanzor, que seguro de su gloria,
De su saber y de su heróico esfuerzo,
Conoce que es bastante su presencia
Para apagar el peligroso incendio
Dispone su partida sin tardanza ².

He has no other importance.

Kerima belongs to the same group of characters, and is given strangely little individuality. She is little more than the « object of Mudarra's love », and, as has been said ³, the sudden independence which she displays at the *dénouement* surprises the reader chiefly for that reason. She is first introduced as one of a « coro de vírgenes », and is distinguished from them by reason as much of her personal charm as of the magnificence of her dress and her superior position :

De este coro de vírgenes Kerima
Era bello adalid, y descollaba
Entre ellas en beldad y en gentileza,
Como en el bosque la garbosa palma ⁴.

The author's intention was evidently, on the one hand, to

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1. Romance I, p. 15.
 2. Romance II, pp. 75-6.
 3. See above pp. 233, ff.
 4. Romance I, p. 16.

present in Kerima a striking contrast with her father¹, and on the other to subordinate her entirely to Mudarra. Thus the only trait which Rivas develops in his heroine is, apart from her physical perfection², her passionate love for the « foundling ». It is unnecessary to quote the many passages which are eloquently summed up by the following one :

Olvidando el origen de su amante,
Su propio orgullo y el furor paterno,
De la vieja nodriza las palabras,
Y cuanto existe entre la tierra y cielo,
Tan sólo ve a Mudarra ante sus ojos;
Derrítese el alma de su pecho,
En el volcán; Mudarra es su existencia,
En Mudarra se cifra su universo ³.

« Mudarra es su existencia » exactly sums up the justification for the creation of Kerima's character. She draws a certain energy and force from her father, but this is unduly emphasised by the concluding scene. In the rest of the poem she is never put into situations requiring those virtues of which, let us say, Doña Leonor in *Don Alvaro* gives such signal proof. And just as the *desenlace* emphasises one side of her character, the whole of the remainder of the poem is an illustration of the other. It may be said of her throughout :

Siempre fijo
Un pensamiento sólo la domina :
Mudarra nada más ⁴

-
1. De padre tan feroz muy diferente
Salió la tierna niña, en quien el cielo
A manos llenas derramó los dones
De belleza y virtud, gracia y talento
(Romance II, p. 56.)
2. Very prominent throughout, notably in Romance II at pp. 56-7.
3. Romance II, p. 65.
4. P. 208, ll. 18-20.

Lara, in spite of his past misdeeds, for which he has amply atoned, is shown clearly to be on the side of the angels. As a character he is slightly sketched ¹, and it is perhaps here, even better than in the merely picturesque lay figures of the poems, that Saavedra's « scenic » method of character-presentation may be studied. For « Gonzalo Gustios, el señor de Lara ² » is shown in a series of pictures; when he enters the action of the poem, we are continually made to stand back and view him; and this is properly but seldom, for as Kerima stands for Mudarra's love, Lara represents the ideal which inspires his valour.

He first appears in the course of Zaide's narrative :

Fuerte y gallardo
Era su talle, su semblante hermoso,
Sus grandes ojos rutilantes astros ³,

as the noble and generous victor, happy in the friendship of his enemies and the father of seven boys. But let it be noted that the first mention of him in the lines above is in the nature of a picture, and a striking one at that. Next he is seen after the foul murder of his sons :

Sonrisa amarga agita un breve instante
Sus labios sin color, y en tanto queman
Sus mejillas dos lágrimas, y luego
Los tiernos hijos a nombrar comienza,
Los ojos enclavando en el que nombra,
Y esperando tal vez, ¡ay! su respuesta ⁴.

1. Gil y Carrasco (*op. cit.*, p. 151) considers Lara and Rui-Velázquez however, to be the most individual of the characters of the poem, which (he says truly) are noticeably monotonous and lacking in individuality.

2. Romance III, p. 104.

3. Romance III, p. 103.

4. Romance IV, p. 165.

Old and blind, we see him next returning after his long imprisonment :

Con gran dificultad el paso afirma,
Que ambas piernas hinchadas entorpecen
Su tardo andar. De noble y masculina
Belleza aun tiene restos el semblante,
En cuya frente y pálidas mejillas
Las profundas arrugas, de pasiones
Violentas, de desgracias infinitas,
De luengo padecer seguras huellas,
Una existencia trabajada indican.

* * *

Alba como la nieve, hasta la cinta
Su barba ondea; su espaciosa calva
Un birretón de obscura piel abruja,
Y es su vestido un sayo de velludo
Negro con franjas de oro, deslucidas
Como el total del traje ¹.

It is impossible to quote in full the various portraits which follow this full-length picture. The surroundings which Lara knows but cannot see bring back the memory of his sorrow : his face and trembling limbs betray his emotion and his companion looks at him with grief ². The « varios hidalgos » who visit him are the excuse for a second and similar picture ³, which changes suddenly as the old man's heart warms to the welcome, and

La marchita
Frente alzando, y su faz resplandeciendo
Con la grandeza y dignidad antiguas,

1. Romance VI, pp. 220-30.

2. Romance VI, p. 233.

3. Romance VI, pp. 237-8.

Con los trémulos brazos corresponde
A amor tan firme y a lealtad tan viva
De aquellos servidores y vasallos ¹.

Follows his speech to the people, interrupted ever and anon by sobs and cries of horror while the reader has yet another picture, twice drawn.

Gustios Lara,
Convulso, apenas tiénese en la silla,
Y en su faz, en su pecho y en sus manos
Se ve el dolor agudo que le agita ¹.

... Con las manos trémulas y frías
La faz rugosa se cubrió. La turba,
Que toda la atención clavada y fija
Tiene en su rostro y en su labio, calla,
Y de su mudo acento participa.
Nadie alentó ².

Further sketches show him in meditation :

Inclinando el semblante sobre el pecho,
Que con la barba venerable esconde ³.

or a patriarchal figure with his retinue, unbending :

En conjeturas varias divertido
Aun Lara estaba en su sillón de roble,
Disputando con Nuño, y rodeado
De escuderos y armados servidores ⁴.

After this he becomes the central figure successively in the impressive scene of reconciliation ⁵, and in those of the legiti-

1. Romance VI, p. 238.

2. Romance VI, p. 257.

3. Romance VII, p. 285.

4. Romance VII, p. 295.

5. Pp. 295 ff.

mization ¹ and the conflict ². He is always the « ciego ilustre ³ », always treats others, and is treated, « con gran respeto » and speaks, when necessary, with a

firmeza noble
Que es sólo propiedad de la inocencia ³.

But from the moment of the reconciliation onwards he has lost his importance in the narrative; he appears but seldom and is mentioned as casually as Nuño or Egidio ⁴; his final entrance is at the wedding ⁵, but we are not told what he thinks of the *desenlace*.

Contrast now with the sheep the goats, in particular Giafar and Rui-Velázquez. Never did scoundrel say more roundly

I am determinèd to be a villain

than do these masters of iniquity. There must be no mistaking the element of contrast which Rivas loves so much. Epithets are attached to the villains as well as to the heroes: over against the « generoso Almanzor » and the « noble Zaide », are placed the « pérfido Velázquez » and the « feroz Giafar ».

This last phrase meets us almost at the beginning of the poem, and it is immediately followed up. Giafar smiles a « bitter smile », speaks with « great coldness », and though once forgetting himself so far as to say « Bravo! », repents immediately. All this is of course at the tourney in the ope-

1. Pp. 325 ff.

2. Pp. 483 ff.

3. P. 313, ll. 1-4.

4. Cf. 526 ll. 25-6.

5. El noble Gustios, remozado y firme,
De contento bañado el ciego rostro,
Y conducido por el sabio Nuño,
Va en pos del hijo, a quien lo debe todo.

ning canto. No sooner is this over than Giafar is presented to us in a way we are not likely to mistake or forget. The second canto begins thus :

Giafar, en cuyos ojos centellea
Siniestra lumbre de terrible agüero,
Cuyo vigor los años no enflaquecen,
Ni calman los furores de su pecho,
Dado a la caza y ejercicios duros,
Y de la corte docto en los manejos,
Es por sangre, riqueza y poderío
La persona segunda del Imperio ¹.

We learn how he lost the first place; and the story of his adventure with the Christian knight, of his fall and subsequent governorship, and of the circumstances leading to the birth of Kerima are full of phrases like « de Giafar el fanatismo ² », « Giafar ufano ³ », « hipócrita astuto » « ardiendo en rabia ⁴ » « en vano desplegó sus artes ⁵ » « la furia Del terrible Giafar ⁶ » « Giafar tirano ⁷ ». We have a description of the country under his rule

de cadalsos
Y de bárbaras cárceles cubierto ⁸.

He is the

Azote de su siglo, y detestado
De su patria y de todo el universo ⁹.

1. Romance II, p. 47.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Proud and ambitious, skilful and cunning, without mercy, respect or affection, he is the exact contrary of Almanzor the good. And this is what the author means : we must not ask why such a man should have a Kerima for daughter, nor why he should give her so complete an education, while despising both arts and sciences himself, nor why with all his cunning he does not conceal his feelings in the opening canto. Psychology plays a small part in the *Moro Expósito*. The character of Giafar is refreshingly simple. « Giafar el furibundo ¹ » he is, and *furibundo* he strides through the story, dealing misery where he goes, till, caught in his own machinations he is unwittingly slain by the man whom he hates. We see him in his last moments, a gruesome picture

prorrumpiendo en gritos
De gozoso furor ².

and tortured by spectres from another world. Not even when he is dead does the author leave him, for the hatred of the people pursues him to the last :

La pompa funeral con que el cadáver
Del Vacir fué al sepulcro conducido,
Se vió atacada por furiosa plebe,
Que en el cuerpo insensible saciar quiso
El odio y el rencor que le inspirara
Con sus atrocidades cuando vivo;
Y dispersando el fúnebre cortejo,
Despedazó feroz los restos fríos ³.

Lest a villain of equal ferocity should be lacking in the second part of the poem we have Lara's brother-in-law Rui-

1. Romance II, p. 73.

2. Romance V, p. 181.

3. Romance V, p. 206.

Velázquez, cast in the same mould as Giafar¹ and no less reprehensible. When he first appears it is as « orgulloso », « bizarro », « lucido y diestro cortesano »². But he soon takes on the familiar characteristics of the stage villain :

altivo y fiero
A traición y a discordias avezado³

and before long his countenance is

la fosca
Facha de aquel demonio en carne humana⁴.

He has not the greatness which, with all his villainy, some of the old plays give him; low, intriguing and cowardly, we continually feel that he is more of a foil to Mudarra than anything else, at any rate in the early part of the poem, where, it is true, he has only a secondary rôle. The quarrel, the temporary peace, the vengeance of Rui-Velázquez upon Lara are all described (by Zaide) in such a way as to prepare the reader for the part he plays in the sequel. Here he is the full-fledged villain :

Cubrióse
La frente de Velázquez de una nube,

-
- I. De Giafar y de Velázquez
Las almas se entendían; tal vez era
Uno mismo el demonio que guiaba
A ambos a un tiempo por distinta senda.
(Romance IV, p. 153.)

They represent the Moorish and the Castilian villain, the heathen villain and the Christian respectively. The story is scrupulously fair to both sides!

2. Romance III, p. 111.
3. Romance III, p. 129.
4. Romance X, p. 461.

Ardió un rayo infernal en sus traidores
Ojos, y con voz ronca y fiero orgullo
Así a Fernán-González dirigióse ¹...

For twenty years he has been the first man in the kingdom, in reality ruling even the apparent ruler, hated by the greatest as by the smallest, yet of necessity flattered and obeyed by all. But he is not happy. Not only does remorse sting him continually, not only do phantoms visit him and assault his peace of mind, but he is unhappy in his marriage and he has no heir ². He has become « el triste Rui-Velázquez », but is no less the villain still for that ³. As the story progresses, there are unfolded in turn his proposed new marriage, the death of the Count, the return of Lara, the astrologer's warning, the challenge, Rui-Velázquez' attacks on his enemies and their failure, his attempts to bribe the Almighty, and finally the conflict. Throughout this narrative the reader is reminded of Velázquez' villainy (as though that were necessary!) by the use of conventional epithets and images. Rivas' treatment of his villain (brave but bad) in the duel-scene may be recalled by a few quotations :

Era gallardo, sí, diestro en las armas,
Extremado jinete, y su apostura
Imponedora y noble, aunque altanera ⁴.

Brama Velázquez como herido toro :
Otra vez y otra vez furioso busca
Por el frente a Mudarra, que otra y otra
El golpe esquivaba de la lanza aguda ⁵.

-
1. Romance VII, p. 308.
 2. Romance IX, pp. 377-8.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
 4. Romance XI, p. 495.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

... Furibundo torna
A completar su triunfo ¹...

The old nurse addresses him as « monstruo ² », and the song she sings is :

Al traidor, al asesino
Un mar de sangre circunda,
En las ondas lo sumergen
Sus víctimas insepultas.
El infierno abre la boca
Para tragarle... ¿ No escuchan
De los demonios los gritos,
Con que a tal huésped saludan ³ ?

When he is unhorsed his courage never forsakes him :

Fuerte se ostenta y diestro ; y aunque duda
De lograr la victoria, despechado
Todas sus fuerzas y su saña junta ⁴.

But the combat ends, as we know, in the villain's death, — an inevitable conclusion.

The minor characters are mainly figures painted to be gazed at, and nothing more. They develop little, and in a story of less imaginative power they would hardly be noticed. Rivas gives them a measure of individuality, yet seldom at the expense of their betters. Kerima's nurse, full of

pláticas difusas,
Viejas historias y mohosos cuentos ⁵

1. *Ibid.*, p. 499.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 499.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 500.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 502.

5. P. 60, ll. 3-4; cf. p. 189.

jealous for her charge, opposed from the outset to one whose pretensions were greater than his position, is the personification of ignorant prejudice, and has little in common with Rivas' other minor personages in the manner of her composition. The various priests are typical examples of these last, or Elvida or Vasco Pérez or the wife of Rui-Velázquez — all of whom have already been discussed under different headings. Egidio is the best example of a character whose introduction into the *desenlace* is highly desirable for purposes of the plot, but whom Rivas does not apparently think worth developing, or forbears to develop in the interests of the principal personages. Yet he, too, is more than a name, though less than a real human being, — which is far more than one would have expected from one of Rivas' minor characters after reading his early dramas.

CHAPTER IV

Don Alvaro.

I

General nature and purpose of the play. — First impressions of *Don Alvaro*. — Is it fatalistic? — Rivas' early pre-occupation with the subject of fatalism. — Or does it portray the workings of Providence? — An alternative view. — Importance of the hero's character to any discussion on this matter. — Analysis of the play from this standpoint. — Judgment.

We have already asked, in the first chapter of this book, what were the *facts* concerning the reception of *Don Alvaro*, and how the apparently contradictory accounts of it can be reconciled with each other and with the truth. One Spanish writer gives the characteristic answer to this question that the Spaniards of 1835 took things less seriously than did the French, and merely laughed ¹!

The answer is unsatisfactory, partly because it does not explain the polemics which we have described, but also for its disagreement with contemporary accounts of the *estreno*.

1. Funes, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Si, al estrenarse, no se reprodujo en Madrid el vocinglero escándalo de *Hernani*, que alborotó a los parisienses, fué porque los de la Villa del Oso no tomaron tan a pecho lo que pasaba en la función, y se contentaron con reírse...

It is easy to laugh at the drama to-day; it was all but impossible then.

Eugenio de Ochoa in an article in the *Artista* (No. 15, 1836) calls *Don Alvaro* the « tipo exacto del drama moderno, obra de estudio y de conciencia, llena de grandes bellezas y de grandes defectos, sublime, trivial, religiosa, impía, terrible personificación del siglo XIX¹. » Whether or no the first and last phrases be correct, the remainder of the sentence expresses in all probability what the average playgoer thought of *Don Alvaro*. The one point in which all the contradictory accounts of its performance agree is expressed by the word *asombro*. Its power alone was overwhelming; and the few spectators whose critical faculties were sufficiently penetrating to escape the inhibition which it caused those of the average man found so many pronounced defects as well as undoubted merits in the play that they were unable to sum it up in other fashion than that of Ochoa : « El *Don Alvaro* es una obra indefinible². ¿Es la realización de algún pensamiento profundo de su autor?... ¿Quién sabe?... Es tal vez una de esas misteriosas monomanías que brotan de las cabezas poéticas de este siglo, ya en un drama como *Fausto*, ya en una novela como *Nuestra Señora de París* » Then he adds, as if speaking from experience, — a year after the representation, let it be remembered — « Los que analizan el *Don Alvaro* escena por escena, verso por verso, buscando el pensamiento que ha presidido a su composición, se parecen al cirujano que hace la anatomía del cuerpo para

1. The same judgment is reproduced in a biographical notice of the Duque de Rivas in Ochoa's *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritores españoles contemporáneos* (II, p. 694), 1840.

2. Cañete (*Obras del Duque de Rivas*, ed. 1854, Vol. I, p. xxxi) takes up Ochoa very literally... « Esta obra, no indefinible, como algún crítico ha dicho, sino clara y definible sobre todas las de su especie. » The critics are clearly at cross-purposes.

buscar el alma. » The critic of the *Revista española* whose identity is discussed in an earlier chapter ¹ expresses himself in similar fashion :

No es cosa de poca monta su aparición en la escena con sus frailes y sus soldados, con sus extravagancias y sus lugares comunes, con sus altos y sus bajos, con sus burlas y sus veras, con sus cosas que huelen a doscientos años atrás y sus otras cosas flamantes, novísimas, con sus resabios de española antigua y sus señales de extranjería moderna ².

And again, summing up the play,

Composición mixta, composición extraña repito, en que abundan las perfecciones, llena de trozos de hermosa poesía, no exenta de lumares, composición que sorprendió al auditorio poco acostumbrado a espectáculos de semejante naturaleza ³.

This has always been the first impression of the drama upon its readers as well as upon spectators. « Inmenso como la vida humana », says Menéndez Pelayo, « rompe los moldes comunes de nuestro teatro, aun en la época de su mayor esplendor ⁴. » « La solución es tan imprevista como soberbia », is Blanco García's verdict, « y el terror que deja en el ánimo, muy parecido al de la tragedia griega ⁵. » « Hubo de parecer », says Funes, « drama de una osadía inconcebible ⁶. »

But, although all agree as to the general impression which the drama is meant to produce, it is impossible to obtain unanimity on a more distinct definition. The sub-title is a challenge. As Álvarez Espino says, the play was an apple

1. See p. 75 above.

2. *Revista española*, March 25 1835.

3. *Additions to Nuestro Siglo*, p. 293.

4. *Op cit.*, Vol. I., p. 147.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

of discord thrown among the critics¹. Some supposed it to be an attempt to reproduce the fatalism of *Ædipus Tyrannus* on the Spanish stage. « Su principal resorte dramático es el fatalismo griego sin sujeción a reglas de ninguna especie », says Ferrer del Río², « ese es el nudo que enlaza sus múltiples y excelentes cuadros, desempeñados con una riqueza de fantasía y un talento de observación admirables. » [« El objeto del drama del Duque de Rivas », says Pastor Diaz, « es el mismo que el de la antigua tragedia griega, la fatalidad. Don Alvaro es un Edipo destinado por el cielo para hacer la desgracia de una familia, como el Edipo griego la de la suya³. » « Verdadero Edipo de la musa católica », echoes Pacheco, « tan original, tan trágico, incomparablemente más bello para nosotros que el del mismo Sófocles⁴. » Blanco García only modifies this view to the extent of allowing that [the conception of fate is inspired rather by the popular beliefs inherited from the Middle Ages than by ancient Greek tragedy⁵]. Charles de Mazade sees the hero as one « condamné à son berceau », « livré aux poursuites inflexibles du malheur », dragged down « de déception en

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 323. « El Don Alvaro fué la manzana de la discordia lanzada entre los críticos, para provocar una viva discusión : de ella, unas veces salió el autor ajado y deprimido bajo el peso de la nota de fatalista; otras, por el contrario, se le ensalzó como inventor de una de las obras más notables de todos los tiempos; quien vió en *Don Alvaro* una lección desconsoladora y terrible, y una enseñanza digna del paganismo griego, quien, por el contrario, halló en él el más hermoso símbolo del dogma cristiano. »

2. *Galería de la literatura española*, 1846.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

4. Letter from J. F. Pacheco to the Duque de Rivas (Feb. 10 1855) prefixed as preface to Vol. IV of the 1854-5 edition of the latter's works.

5. « La fuerza del sino no es aquí una frase retórica, y sí una especie de fatalidad, distinta de la pagana, y más afine a la suerte y la ventura de las creencias populares. »

déception, de douleur en douleur, de chute en chute, jusqu'à une fin lamentable ¹ ».

More recent critics are no less emphatic than this. [« Una fatalidad, no griega sino española »] says Menéndez y Pelayo², « es el Dios que guía aquella máquina. » « Le principal personnage, c'est la Fatalité », says Ernest Mérimée³, going one stage farther, « l'Ανάγκη romantique, (sic). Elle poursuit Don Alvaro, en fait à trois reprises un meurtrier et le sépare de celle qu'il aime, jusqu'au moment où il se tue. »

Let us remark at once that it is in no way surprising if the sub-title of Rivas' greatest play should suggest that the drama is concerned with the great force of destiny — as was, indeed, to a certain degree, the greatest of his verse romances. For the idea of a relentless fate had undoubtedly, from his earliest days, obsessed his imagination. As early as 1808 we find him apostrophising his country thus :

¿Cómo triunfar pudiste del sañudo
Destino, que ofuscó tus claros días ⁴ ?

It is this same « sañudo destino » which keeps him from his Olimpia ⁵ (in 1819 and 1820) and his family ⁶ (in 1829) and

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 293.

3. *Précis d'histoire de la littérature espagnole*, 1908, p. 425.

4. Vol. I, p. 200, *Al Armamento de las provincias españolas contra los franceses*.

5. Vol. I, p. 322; cf. Vol. II, pp. 26-28 :

A pocas horas,
El destino feroz embravecido
Me arrebató a mi Olimpia, y en pos de ella
Todó mi bien y la ventura mía.

... Y en pos el día,
El día ansiado brillará, en que afable
El destino a mi Olimpia me devuelva.

6. Vol. II, p. 78.

may one day re-unite them ¹ when the aspect of his star is changed ². It has taught him by bitter experience (he says in 1830) that all happiness is illusion, and that the only truth is to be found in mourning and death, the sorrows and the fears of life. This fatalism is not confined to the more personal and lyric compositions. It invades the *Paso Honroso* (1812) ³; and *Florinda* (1826), as we have seen ⁴, is full of references to « destino sañudo », « celestes iras », and the like. Where these allusions are Christianised, the metamorphosis is but apparent : the change is only one of words. There is a striking example in one passage where the poet's imagination leads him to a conception of the Omnipotent apparently in accordance with one form of orthodox Christianity:

Será : que en el sagrado firmamento
Lo tiene escrito el dedo omnipotente,
De luz con caracteres inmutables.
¡Decreto celestial, que el alma m'a
Embarga de placer y de esperanza!
¡Ah! De tu cumplimiento,
¿Cuándo en oriente brillará el gran día?
Ley sempiterna que los orbes mueve
Haz que en espacio breve
Las esferas girando
Traigan su ansiada luz ⁵.

1. Vol. II, p. 45. *El Desterrado*.

2. Riqueza, amor, aplausos a porfía
Gocé, cuando mi estrella
Su adverso influjo pérfida escondía.
(*El Desterrado*, Vol. II, p. 43.)

3. Al verme de este modo combatido
Por todos lados del destino fiero,
Quiero buscar en vos, señora bella,
Muerte, o consuelo de mi infausta estrella.

4. See above, pp. 191, ff.

(Vol. I, p. 465.)

5. *El Desterrado*, Vol. II, p. 54.

Yet almost at the same period he uses words which might have been Leopardi's, to express sentiments significant indeed as coming from the future author of *Don Alvaro* :

¿ Y qué, dije, será que las estrellas
Vieron con ceño el infelice día,
Que empecé a respirar?... Será, oh destino,
Que siempre el hombre en mísera agonía
Arrastre su existir?... Si esta es la suerte
Que guardan los arcanos
A la raza infeliz de los humanos,
Ven sin tardanza, ven, ¡oh dulce muerte!
Siega piadosa la garganta mía,
Descanse al menos en la tumba fría ¹.

Seeing then that this conception of Destiny was present with Rivas continually throughout his literary career, and that it obsessed him most at the time of perhaps his greatest depression — the year of *El Desterrado* — it is only natural that, when he settled down to write in Malta, the theme of Destiny should be prominent in his mind. We have seen premonitions in *Arias Gonzalo* and the lyrics of a fatalism which the theme of the *Moro Expósito* gave Rivas ample excuse for developing. It would be natural to look for a future development in *Don Alvaro*, to seize the first indications of fatalistic thought, and to exaggerate them. Let us, however, be on guard against this, for the matter is less simple than it may appear.

Some of those who refuse to see fatalism in *Don Alvaro* consider that the Duke would not have wished to portray a fatalistic hero, on account of the unorthodoxy of this proceeding. « Atendido el carácter de su autor y el análisis profundo del libro », says Álvarez Espino, « más parecen en efecto acertar estos últimos ²; porque es indudable que mirado

1. *A Olimpia*, Vol. I, p. 329.

2. He is continuing the paragraph quoted above (p. 382 note).

este drama bajo tal aspecto, despréndense de él enseñanzas admirables¹ que, a su sana influencia unen el valor de una verdad clarísima y de una ejemplaridad segura. » Cañete proceeds, in somewhat more critical fashion, to draw the same conclusions as Álvarez Espino from the play as he finds it. He considers it to be an exposition of the dealings of providence no less than is the *Moro Expósito*². « *Don Alvaro* es como viva demostración del fin que tienen los errores de la humanidad; de las angustias a que nuestras faltas nos condenan; de que para salvarnos de la perdición a que nos arrastran las propias culpas, queda siempre a la Divinidad el gran poder de la misericordia³. » One is irresistibly reminded, in reading these conflicting sets of theories side by side, of one of Campoamor's *Doloras*, and it is difficult to refrain from exclaiming with him : « What's in a name? »

Cuestión de nombre.

De una hermosa pagana la existencia
 Salvó un cristiano, y con fervor divino
 La pagana dió gracias al *Destino*
 Y el cristiano alabó a la *Providencia*.

The view which these critics take of the drama may in a general way — for there are divergences of detail — be summed up as follows. / The play, they say, is meant to show the dreadful results of premeditated (or unpremeditated) crime and the workings of an all-shaping Divinity, against whose

1. So Cueto (*op. cit.*, p. 564), though looking at the play from a less restricted standpoint, says of the catastrophe : « No es en realidad sino una lección tremenda de la moral cristiana. »

2. En la conclusión del *Don Alvaro* encuentro yo una faz distinta pero no menos ejemplar y cristiana, de la justicia providencial visible en *El Moro Expósito* (*op. cit.*; p. 58). Cf. Rivas' works, ed. 1854. Vol. I, pp. xxxi, xxxiii.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 61. Cf. *Works*, ed. 1854, p. xxxiii.

calculations mortal prescience is powerless.) The pistol goes off and kills the Marquis (not, as one might think, because he refuses his daughter to the man of her choice, but) because of D. Alvaro's proposal to marry her (in perfect form and order, be it noted) without her father's knowledge and consent. Where, let us ask, is the crime in this proceeding? What audience, in Rivas' day or our own, but would applaud D. Alvaro to the echo? [D. Carlos and D. Alfonso, however, according to this view, are incarnations of the spirit of vengeance : their love for Leonor was once pure, but it has become poisoned by hatred of her lover, and their double failure and their deaths are the fruits of their attempted crimes.] Finally, the fates of D. Alvaro and Leonor, for so long unconsciously near one another, are the due reward of their mutual love, which is immoral because it persists in spite of the Marquis of Calatrava's opposition. Hence throughout the play, as Álvarez Espino puts it « El principio providencial queda triunfante, desde el momento en que se oye tras la catástrofe el grito de la religión que invoca al cielo pidiéndole misericordia ¹ ».

To give reasons for rejecting this view hardly seems to the writer a necessity. It supposes a morality, not only impeccably orthodox, but as painfully narrow as can be imagined ². It deprives the play of the unity given it by its

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

2. Juan Valera, writing in 1889 (*op. cit.*, pp. 180-1) puts it roundly enough — and he was no lax moralist : « Es aserto irreflexivo o es hipócrita mogigatería el suponer gran culpa en Don Alvaro porque va a robar a su novia para casarse con ella cuando le niegan su mano tan sin razón. Todo caballero, no siendo un mandria, y estando tan fina y entrañablemente enamorado, hubiera hecho lo mismo en iguales circunstancias, salvo el caso de una virtud sublime que se puede poner como modelo ideal, y no como precepto corriente y vigente... Don Alvaro y su novia no eran santos, sino dos seres muy humanos y muy

protagonist, by shifting the moral centre twice from himself to his opponents. [It supposes a Providence who rewards a would-be seducer by wiping out the whole family of the girl whose honour he had attempted.] And it leaves out of account one fundamental fact : that Rivas himself called the play *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino*¹. In other words, the story of the drama was to its author, first and foremost, that of the hero, and secondarily, an exposition of the power of something which Rivas termed « destiny ». No interpretation of the drama can possibly be true which neglects these fundamental facts. On the other hand, it is impossible to look on the play as a successful demonstration of *la fuerza del sino*. At what does that *sino* aim? At preventing Don Alvaro from leading a peaceful life? Neither a tragic nor a romantic conception! At keeping him from the death which he desires? But it comes at last in the most frightful possible form. [At sparing him continually, with tragic irony, from his enemies of the House of Calatrava, that his end might be the most dreadful imaginable?] This is the only plausible answer : but it is belied at every turn by the profoundly Christian tone of the drama, as will presently be seen. And a more powerful objection is that the various events which lead to the catastrophe are the result of an accident (or

apasionados, y me parece mezquino buscar en su proyectada fuga, en culpa tan leve, y en la que en igual caso incurriríamos todos, pretexto o motivo para que el cielo se desencadene contra aquellos infelices. Ruin y vulgar recurso es éste para justificar a la providencia, cuyos designios basta con decir que son inexcrutables. »

1. Funes meets the difficulty of the « segundo título tan poco feliz, tan opuesto a lo que en la fábula se desenvuelve » (*op. cit.*, p. 77) but in no way solves it by saying « el mismo poeta no (sospechó) su transcendencia y significación profundamente católica! » (p. 87), and later (pp. 90-1) that, wishing only to portray the dreadful results of involuntary crime he added the sub-title « para ser entendido por la muchedumbre »!

are we to say of the working of Destiny) which is itself directly due to an act of the hero's free will — the projected elopement with Leonor ¹.

Can we then, interpret the design of the play without adopting either of these views? Funes stigmatises the term « Edipo cristiano » applied by Cueto to *Don Alvaro* as a « manifest contradiction, the term « Christian » excluding the very idea of fatalism » ². Cañete goes so far as to call the phrase « puerile, contradictory and meaningless » ³. There is no doubt reason for a protest. But none the less the critics who have used such terms, if a little paradoxically, are not without justification. For the play itself is contradictory, and is it not at least possible that the contradictions may be the result of a not unusual happening : that the author's intention was deflected from its normal path by considerations — whether literary, moral or religious — prompted by the instinct of the true dramatist who consciously or subconsciously is writing for his audience? Is not the point of view of Cueto more reasonable than has been supposed? « El Edipo de

1. « Preguntad al público español que asiste al teatro », said Cueto to his fellow-academicians, « desprevenido y ajeno de teorías, y él os responde con su afición y sus aplausos que ve retratados su honor, su desnudo, y sus preocupaciones en los personajes del *Don Alvaro*. Al Duque de Rivas no le pasó siquiera por las mientes que escribía un segundo *Edipo*. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 559.)

2. « Alguien ha dicho (no sé quién ni en dónde) que el personaje del drama de Rivas no es otra cosa que un Edipo cristiano. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 90.) The reference is to Cueto's *Discurso necrológico* (p. 563) : « Don Alvaro, el Edipo cristiano... » Pacheco too, as we saw above (p. 382 note) calls Don Alvaro « verdadero Edipo de la musa católica ».

3. « Decir que el héroe de este drama es un *Edipo cristiano*, frase que ha gustado mucho a biógrafos y críticos y que repiten todos haciéndola suya, es una puerilidad contradictoria y vacía de sentido. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 61.)

la musa cristiana », he says, « representa una idea muy diversa : es el *acaso*, que interviene en las cosas humanas sin contrariar las leyes providenciales, sin poner estorbo al libre albedrío ¹. »

Let us, without adopting Cueto's position for the moment, at least admit the possibility of such a deflection of intention. Let us suppose that the Duque de Rivas set out consciously to combine pagan and Christian ideas — or that, having embarked upon one line of action he allowed himself to be led towards the other, unwilling, as Juan Valera says he habitually was², to convey moral lessons in his plays. What, in that case (or in any case) is the result he had achieved? What, that is to say, appears to be the impression made by the play if we consider it objectively without relation to the views set out above?

In the first place, all will agree that the dominating personality and the figure which gives the play all the unity, — whether much or little — which it possesses, is the hero, Don Alvaro. He takes possession of the stage, in spirit, long

1. This is something like the view of Valera in 1854 (*Revista española de ambos mundos*, Vol. II, p. 620). « El sino o la mala estrella, es decir, un conjunto de circunstancias fortuitas, ponen a don Alvaro en ocasión de cometer delitos que su mismo honor le manda que cometa, sin que por eso su voluntad se tuerza e incline al mal. » Or as he puts it in 1889 (*op. cit.*, p. 181). « Todas las desventuras de *Don Alvaro* no ocurrieron... sino de resultas de un acaso funesto... Lo demás es un encadenamiento de consecuencias naturales... El sino, el acaso o la fortuna que produce estas catástrofes, no vicia las almas, y no fuerza el libre albedrío de ellas para faltar a la ley moral, dentro del límite que marcan a esta misma ley las costumbres, o preocupaciones, si se quiere, de una época determinada. »

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 179. « El Duque tenía horror a las tesis como fundamento de poemas. El Duque sólo se propuso conmover y divertir, y esto lo consiguió. » So, too, Rivas' son (*Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. I, pp. xx-xxi).

before he passes mysteriously across it; the story of the play is the story of Don Alvaro to the end. Whatever idea the drama has at its root must of necessity be intimately connected with its hero.

Secondly, the climax of the drama, the point at which begins the action leading to the catastrophe, is the death of the Marquis. That event is, in the dramatic sense, an *accident* : it is not presented to us by the author as the result of anything like destiny; only one of the characters so much as mentions destiny in connection with it ¹. Nor is it for one moment portrayed as the result of a crime. All on D. Alvaro's side look on the elopement as morally justified ², and in no way as a crime condoned by circumstances or love. D^a Leonor's scruples, which alone might be cited against this view, are the result of that same natural timidity which we find in *Romeo and Juliet* ³.

1. That one is of course, Don Alvaro; as late as in IV, 1, he says to Don Carlos :

Yo a vuestro padre no herí,
Le hirió solo su destino.

And it is interesting that (surely not by chance) this is exactly what Mudarra writes after Giafar's death, to Kerima :

Kerima, yo a tu padre he dado muerte,
Mas no fui yo, fué sólo su destino.
(*Moro Expósito*, p. 200, ll. 19-20.)

2. As we shall see again (p. 405) D. Alvaro invokes heaven to bless the deed, Curra makes light of it, and even the Canon only speaks of it (I, 4) as a « desgracia ». Had the author conceived it as a crime he would presumably at least have made the Canon, and probably one of D. Alvaro's partisans, speak of it as such. He could not, in that case, possibly have made it clear that D. Alvaro's conscience did not in any way reproach him!

3. *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 11, 116-120.

Although I joy in thee
I have no joy of this contract to-night :

The development of the drama, then, is dependent upon an accident, and it is worked out by ordinary human beings in full possession of their free will¹, aided by the chances which play so great a part in real life². The process of development is this. Don Alvaro, up to a certain point, bears a charmed life : he courts death in vain. But what he attributes to Destiny is really a perfectly rational, if unusual, series of events, for which we are perfectly well prepared by the reports of Don Alvaro's exceptional valour. When the point is reached at which life becomes intolerable, he takes the course which he might have taken at any moment throughout the play and destroys himself. Where is the Destiny now of which he soliloquised? Why does not the unseen hand restrain or change the course of events by a miracle? Because Don Alvaro was destined neither to escape violent death nor to suffer it. The forces set in motion by the explosion of the fatal pistol are not those of Destiny but of Free-Will, aided by coincidences which some call Providence and others Chance.

It is too rash, too unadvised, too sudden;
Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be
Ere one can say « It lightens ».

We may infer this from the somewhat neurotic temperament which is Leonor's throughout the play. Dramatically considered, Leonor's scarcely articulate protests in this scene seem rather to have been inserted to stem the eloquence of D. Alvaro's protestations and relieve what might otherwise have become monotony.

1. It has been suggested to me that destiny may work out its ends by using the elements of chance, and the acts of an apparently free will. Undoubtedly it may, but the philosophy of a play is that of its author, not of its critics, and it is the author who is under discussion here.

2. Whether Rivas' use of chance is exaggerated or no we shall discuss later (see pp. 429 ff. below).

This is the impression made by the drama called *La fuerza del sino*. If the author teaches a lesson — involuntarily or no — it is of the inscrutability of the dealings of Providence. But we prefer to take the play at its self-assessed value. It is the story of the catastrophic career of a man of parts, of a fatal accident and the dire results that follow it, of a period during which the tragic conclusion is in an astonishing way delayed, and the moment at which the hero's belief that the forces of destiny inhibit it is shattered as he himself proves the contrary.

Manifestly, if this impression was what the dramatist intended to create, we have to face contradictions. The sub-title is mis-applied, the various parts of the play are not wholly in harmony, and the author's ultimate design hardly bears examination. But the thesis of this study is that the impression produced does not coincide with Rivas' intention, and that all we can do is to endeavour to reconstruct that intention, showing possibly how it came to differ from the result.

We shall be safe presumably in starting from the title and the sub-title as representing Rivas' idea of what he meant his play to be. It was to be, no doubt, the terrible and moving drama of a hero, majestic in proportions, tracked down by an arbitrary and capricious Destiny. Possibly the Destiny of Rivas' original conception was identical with the *Ἀνίγκη* of Greek tragedy; more probably it was a somewhat vague mediaeval re-creation — a Romantic re-incarnation of the astrology of the Middle Ages¹. But some conception of a Destiny as the hero's antagonist Rivas undoubtedly had.

1. Funes (*op. cit.*, p. 89) terms it thus and connects it with « el horóscopo y el signo de la astrología judiciaria ». Cf. Blanco Garc'a, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 149 note, and Menéndez Pelayo in his additions to Leixner's volume which he translated as *Nuestro Siglo*.

Clearly the strength of the impression which this supernatural antagonist would produce would be in direct proportion to the strength of the impression made by the hero. So, in order to impress his audiences and his readers with the omnipotence of his Destiny, the author's first care was for the central personage. The protagonist must be a hero of great strength of character, of universally acknowledged nobility, the incarnation of those qualities which make a man. But more than this there must be something of mystery surrounding him, something which shall ensure his being regarded with awe. He must in short resemble one of those great Romantic heroes which figure in Hugo or Byron, a Hernani, a Ruy Blas, a Lara or a Manfred; a being immeasurably above his fellows: a superman whom if Destiny could bring to a tragic fate it would be achieving a conquest indeed.

Such a man Rivas succeeds in presenting to us at the opening of his play without any doubt. Don Alvaro is a popular hero. Gipsy and gallant unite in his praises :

PRECIOSILLA

Como que ha saltado en ella [*i. e.* la corrida] don Alvaro el indiano, que a caballo y a pie es el mejor torero que tiene España.

MAJO

Es verdad que es todo un hombre, muy duro con el ganado y muy echado adelante.

PRECIOSILLA

Y muy buen mozo... Don Alvaro es digno de ser marido de una emperadora...

¡Qué gallardo!... ¡Qué formal y qué generoso!...

The old water-carrier extols his generosity :

TIO PACO

Cuantas veces viene aquí a beber, me pone sobre el mostrador una peseta columnaria.

The officer who is present calls him

un hombre riquísimo, y cuyos modales están pregonando que es un caballero.

He is incredibly courageous :

MAJO

¡ Y vaya un hombre valiente! Cuando en la Alameda Vieja le salieron aquella noche los siete hombres más duros que tiene Sevilla, metió mano y me los acorraló a todos contra las tapias del picadero.

And withal he is as honourable as could be wished :

OFICIAL

Y en el desafío que tuvo con el capitán de artillería se portó como un caballero.

The Canon suggests that the Marquis' two sons would resent D. Alvaro's further advances : one of his hearers at once makes an implied comparison between D. Alvaro and the younger son D. Alfonso which is recalled in the later comparison of the elder with his victor :

HABITANTE 1º

... Mi primo que acaba de llegar de Salamanca, me ha dicho que (D. Alfonso) es el coco de la Universidad, más espadachín que estudiante, y que tiene metidos en un puño a los matones sopistas.

Then there is the mystery about Don Alvaro which puts him on a higher pinnacle still. He is an « ente muy misterioso » of whom « se dicen tantas y tales cosas »... All that is known of him is the fact of his arrival, laden with wealth, two months before, from the Indies¹. Rumour makes him alternately a pirate, an Inca, and the bastard

1. *Canónico* : « Sólo sabemos que ha venido de Indias hace dos meses y que ha traído dos negros y mucho dinero. »

son of a grandee of Spain and a Moorish queen. The Canon's remarks, apart from their understating the case for the opposition, add to the impression of mystery. He concludes by stating the plain truth :

El caso es sencillísimo. Don Alvaro llegó hace dos meses. Nadie sabe quien es ¹.

What a suggestive opening for a Romantic drama!

And to crown these impressions comes the culminating suggestion of power. The group round the *Aguaducho* is gossiping at its loudest when suddenly there is a silence, and all eyes are turned to the spot.

PRECIOSILLA

Pues el generoso don Alvaro...

HABITANTE I

En nombrando el ruin de Roma, luego asoma... allí viene don Alvaro.

And slowly, as, by a stage device, the fall of night comes swiftly over the scene, and the hushed figures of the gossips can barely be distinguished, Don Alvaro is made to pass before us in the deepest silence. The stage direction shows clearly the author's intention in this unusual scene :

ESCENA III

Empieza a anochecer, y se va obscureciendo el teatro. DON ALVARO sale embozado en una capa de seda, con un gran sombrero blanco,

1. Act I, Scene II. Compare the impression conveyed by the critic of the *Revista Española* already cited :

‘¿Quién es don Alvaro? se me preguntará. Don Alvaro es un ente desconocido, galán, valiente, generoso como todo héroe de novela, o de comedia, soberbio como pocos, lleno de ideas poéticas, vagas, ambiciosas, obscuras, personificación de ciertos sueños fantásticos, figura de contornos inciertos, vaporosos como son los cuadros de Schiller (March 23 1835).

botines y espuelas; cruza lentamente la escena mirando con dignidad y melancolía a todos lados, y se va por el puente. Todos lo observan en gran silencio.

Thus far (Act I, Scene III) the dramatist's plan is proceeding well. His hero has undoubtedly created an impression : he is fit in every way, in fact, to be the leading figure in a tragedy. Had this impression been sustained, we might well have had a drama on the force of Destiny indeed. It is now that Rivas is beset by great difficulties, which compel him to leave the path which he has traced.

In the first place he is led away by his participation in the Romantic passion for striking, violent and « dramatic » scenes. The play which is worthily to present « la fuerza del sino » must have something of the dignity of a tragedy; it cannot be a second class Romantic « drama ». It is impossible to turn one's protagonist into « a poor player that struts and frets » before an excitable audience and at the same time to « purge the emotions », to excite pity and terror.

And thus, while all and sundry continue to laud Don Alvaro to the skies throughout the remainder of the play :

1. Examples are so numerous that Rivas seems at times to be forcing his hero's virtues down his audience's throats. A few representative eulogies may be quoted.

I, 6, *Curra* : » ... al arrogante,
 Al enamorado, al noble
 Don Alvaro. »

D. Carlos, the soldiers and the doctor all speak in the highest terms of his valour (III, 4-7). After the duel in which D. Carlos is killed, the officers combine in lauding D. Alvaro at the expense of his fallen rival (IV, 2). All the chief officers in Veletri go to beg the king to spare his life (IV, 6). As Padre Rafael, D. Alvaro is sought by all (V, 1) and the Prior terms him « un siervo de Dios a quien todos debemos imitar » (V, 2).

the dramatist himself does nothing but weaken the effect which he has so adequately sustained up to the moment of his hero's first appearance. For a time Don Alvaro holds us by his presence, his lyrical ardour and the dignity with which he treats Leonor's weakness, and (it must be added) by his somewhat bombastic self-esteem :

Y cuando el nuevo sol en el Oriente,
Protector de mi estirpe soberana,
Numen eterno en la región indiana,
La regia pompa de su trono ostente,
Monarca de la luz, padre del día,
Yo tu esposo seré, tú esposa mía.

But no sooner is a noise heard than all the coolness of Don Alvaro flies. « Serenidad es necesario en todo caso » he says sententiously, but where is the « serenity » of a man who draws a pistol to « defend and save » his lady-love and the next moment, when she reproaches him with the intention to shoot her father or brothers, declares (« profundamente confundido ») that he will use it to take his own life? He is surely a poor kind of gallant who embarks on an enterprise like this without clear resolves as to what he will do in case of a surprise. Nor does he show himself more favourably when he falls on his knees before the enraged father and hands him the pistol. It sounds well enough in a comic opera, but woefully unworthy of serious drama that the hero should exclaim — even « con dignidad » — after kneeling without effect :

Desgraciado del que me pierda el respeto

One is much more inclined to echo the words of the Marquis than those of Don Alvaro :

Tu actitud suplicante manifiesta lo bajo de tu condición.

Not all Don Alvaro's ranting about his corpse and his lady's innocence can take from one the impression that the Marquis was right throughout.

The truth is that the whole of this scene and the latter half of that which precedes it are weak beyond description from the point of view of character and design, simply because both these details are forgotten or deliberately sacrificed for the sake of producing a somewhat cheap dramatic effect. It seems to us that the spectator or reader who begins the play with the high conception of its aims and central figure which the title and the early scenes suggest, and who is not dazzled by the possible *éclat* of Scenes VII and VIII of Act I, loses that conception after this unfortunate display, and never entirely, if even partially, regains it. He admires the undoubted power of some of the later scenes : that is all.

After this scene Don Alvaro disappears for an act, — he is indeed barely mentioned, though seldom absent from our subconsciousness. The undoubted flaw of construction¹ is in the circumstances a positive merit, and when he is next discovered (III, III) on the occasion of his well-known soliloquy, he may to some extent have recovered his status. The soliloquy itself suggests that Rivas is endeavouring to force to the front the mysterious superman, to reassert the idea of all-powerful destiny. For Don Alvaro's soliloquy, of over one hundred lines, uses the word « Dios » but once and has but one properly religious reference², the assumption of the supposedly dead Leonor's immortality. It expresses the *desen-*

1. See pp. 418 ff. below.

2. Socórreme, mi Leonor,
 Gala del suelo andaluz,
 Que ya eres ángel de luz
 Junto al trono del Señor.

gaño of the Romantic in a quite non-Christian form ¹. Further it contains vague allusions to the strange nature of the speaker's early life, ² and, most important of all, it has three references to Destiny which leave no doubt as to the dramatist's intention.

Parece, sí, que a medida
Que es más dura y más amarga,
Más extiende, más alarga
El destino nuestro vida.

*
* *

Entonces risueño un día,
Uno sólo, nada más,
Me dió el destino; quizás
Con intención más impía.

1. The opening :

¡Qué carga tan insufrible
Es el ambiente vital,
Para el mezquino mortal
Que nace en signo terrible!
¡Qué eternidad tan horrible
La breve vida!...

Terrible cosa es nacer.

This theme is repeated throughout with variations.

2. ... Infeliz nací

*
* *

Amor y ambición ardiente
Me engendraron de concierto;
... Una cárcel fué mi cuna,
Y fué mi escuela el desierto.
Etc. (III, III).

*
* *

Busco ansioso el morir
Por no osar el resistir
De los astros el furor¹.

There follows the display of « heroico valor » which rescues D. Carlos, and the scene in which D. Alvaro fights (« como un desesperado ») and is wounded. But as soon as we reach the quarrel scene (IV, 1) we have character and design subordinated to dramatic effect once more. Any audience is attracted by a violent and desperate quarrel between two men who had been friends. But where the great man mocked by Fate preserves his dignity, the petty hero can only rant without effect. To which class does D. Alvaro now belong?

DON ALVARO

(Fuera de sí)

¡ Ah, traidor!... ¡ Ah, fementido!...
Violaste infame un secreto,
Que yo débil, yo indiscreto,
Moribundo... inadvertido...

After such a petty outburst, what can the man say to reinstate himself as a hero of tragedy? The groundlings are applauding, but where is the superman?

DON CARLOS

... Temblad, que ante vos estoy.

DON ALVARO

No sé temblar...

Protestations such as these will not convince us, and it is almost ludicrous that once again, as on a former occasion, Don Alvaro goes on to give himself the lie :

No es furia la valentía
Y ésta obra siempre con calma.

1. III, III, *passim*.

He need not now invoke the stars¹, or speak of destiny², or flaunt his noble origin³ in Don Carlos' face; the scene is a common quarrel between two ordinary men, and not all the devices of the playwright will alter it into the climax of a lofty drama.

Whether Don Alvaro's violent protestations to the Captain (IV, III) repel us or no will depend on the degree of respect which we now bear towards him. It is doubtful if the reader so much as notices the reference in this scene to fate :

¡Muerte es mi destino, muerte,
Porque la muerte merezco,
Porque es para mí la vida
Aborrecible tormento!

In the final act Don Alvaro is another man entirely. The four years which he has spent in the monastery, the prayers, penances and fasts of which the Prior speaks, have completely changed him, taking from him the very traits which marred him as a tragic hero and giving him a calm dignity which comes too late. Compare his quick outburst in the

-
- | | | |
|----|---|----------|
| 1. | Pues trataron las estrellas
Por raros modos de hacernos
Amigos, ¿a qué oponernos
A lo que buscaron ellas? | (IV, 1.) |
| 2. | Yo a vuestro padre no herí,
Le hirió sólo su destino. | (IV, 1.) |
| 3. | Yo os ofrezco, yo os juro
Que no os arrepentiréis .
Cuando a conocer lleguéis
Mi origen excelso y puro.
Al primer grande español
No le cedo en jerarquía;
Es más alta mi hidalguía
Que el trono del mismo sol. | (IV, 1.) |

scene with Don Carlos (IV, 1) and the long restraint in that with Don Alfonso (V, vi), before a false and cruel accusation makes him give way to his pent-up fury, and after he has recovered himself a blow is needed to rouse him once more. But the change comes too late for the dramatist's purpose. And by what oversight — or by what strange and subtle irony — does Rivas make Alvaro kneel at Alfonso's feet and cry :

Prosternado a vuestras plantas
Vedme, *cual persona alguna*
Jamás me vió ¹?...

Has he really forgotten that night when Don Alvaro knelt before the man of whom Don Alfonso was the « living image »?

However it may be, Don Alvaro is now once more the Byronic hero :

Os arrancará la lengua
Que mi clara estirpe insulta,
Vamos...
Hora es de muerte, de muerte,
El infierno me confunda.

« Voy al infierno » he shouts to the lay brother who enquires his destination. « ¿Veis lo ilustre de mi sangre? » he cries to Don Alfonso before they engage, and as they meet :

¡Baste.
Muerte y exterminio! ¡Muerte
Para los dos! Yo matarme
Sabré en teniendo el consuelo
De beber tu inicua sangre ².

When Don Alfonso, dying, begs to be confessed, his opponent declares himself « no... más que un réprobo, presa infeliz

1. V, vi.

2. V, ix.

del demonio ». To the Prior (« con sonrisa diabólica, todo convulso ») he cries

Yo soy un enviado del infierno, soy el demonio exterminador,

and as he leaps into the gulf below him he delivers himself thus :

Infierno abre tu boca y trágame. Húndase el cielo, perezca la raza humana; exterminio, destrucción ¹.

It will be seen that at the end of the play the first difficulty disappears; those same dramatic scenes of which the Duke appears to have been so greatly enamoured restore to the hero something of the prestige which earlier in the action he has sacrificed through them, and he leaves the stage the same impressive being as in the third scene strode across it. This is not to say, however, let it be observed in parenthesis, that the drama complies with the Aristotelian canon of tragedy. To Juan Valera's assertion — « en drama alguno mejor que en el *Don Alvaro* están purificados el terror y la compasión ² » one can only give a direct negative. While recognising that this is primarily a subjective question, one would urge that the emotions excited are in the majority of spectators less noble, and this because the hero does not stand consistently on the tragic level ³.

1. V, XI.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 180; cf. p. 183.

3. Juan Donoso Cortés gets near the truth when, looking at the question of the tragic emotions in modern drama from a general standpoint, he says (*Obras*, Vol. II, pp. 17-19) :

« ... El (terror dramático) de los antiguos, naciendo de la infalibilidad de la catástrofe, abate el espíritu, abrumba el corazón, y postra el entendimiento. El de los modernos, naciendo de la incertidumbre, aviva el temor y la esperanza, y exalta nuestras facultades morales...

If the first difficulty disappears as far as the close of the play is concerned, the second and more serious one only increases as the drama proceeds, and is nowhere greater than at the catastrophe. This difficulty is the religious problem — a fact recognised by the group of critics who are unable to consider the play as in any way fatalistic and who affirm with more or less vehemence that the Duke was incapable of leaving the orthodox religious position. However much he may have desired to portray the force of destiny, he could not reconcile this thesis with his instinctive Christian beliefs. To the writer, though he cannot see in the play the definite « teaching » which most of the critics referred to assign to it, this fact appears indubitable. Not only are Leonor and her brothers orthodox Catholics, but Don Alvaro is a religious conformer and accepts religious standards. As soon as he speaks, the conventional phrases spring to his lips. The elopement is to be followed immediately by a marriage in church, in due form : all is even now waiting!

En San Juan de Alfarache, preparado
Todo, con gran secreto, lo he dejado
El sacerdote en el altar espera,
Dios nos bendecirá desde su esfera ¹.

When Don Alvaro reappears, he is at first (as has been noted) somewhat more of the pagan (III, III) but after a long period during which the action is such that the religious problem does not enter, the hero's propensities re-assert themselves. « ¡Oh justo Dios! » he cries, in his surprise at hearing that

En la dramática de los griegos, el hombre era esclavo; en la de la Europa moderna, el hombre es señor de su destino. »

1. I, 7. The last line is italicised as especially noteworthy : if the elopement were really the crime which the « religious » group of critics would make it, at least it was not so in the mind of Don Alvaro.

Doña Leonor still lives. « Demandar perdón al cielo » is his parting word to Don Carlos (IV, 1). In his long apostrophe to Leonor (IV, v) he uses once more the phrase which for so long has remained in his mind and no doubt has been often on his lips : « al trono del Eterno¹ ». As the hour of his punishment draws near he remembers that he must meet his Maker². So, when death comes, it comes as the gift of God; he will meet 't w'th Christian resignation³. And it is natural enough that on his escape he fulfils that vow naturally made in its turn by one so evidently a Christian :

Yo os hago, eterno Dios, voto profundo
De renunciar al mundo
Y de acabar mi vida en un desierto⁴.

As to the last act, it is enough to say that if Don Alvaro by his renunciation of eternal salvation raises himself dramatically to greater heights, he proves, first by embracing the religious life, and afterwards both by implicit and explicit confession, his eternal belief in that which under the greatest provocation he throws away. During the whole play the

1. IV, vi : Como un ángel bajado de la esfera
En donde el trono del Eterno brilla.

2. IV, v : ¡Dentro de breves horas,
Lejos de las mundanas afecciones,
Vanas y engañadoras,
Iré del Dios al tribunal severo !

3. IV, vi : La muerte. Como cristiano
La sufriré : no me aterra.



Humilde la aguardo. Venga.

4. IV, vii.

atmosphere has been very largely religious¹. The last act sets the religious seal on *Don Alvaro*. The chorus of friars

1. It is hardly necessary to give more than a few instances as reminders. Of characters, Leonor continually invokes the Virgin and observes the very smallest practices of the Faith; Alfonso apparently takes after her, though the Marquis, when mortally wounded, shows none of Alfonso's anxiety for the welfare of his soul (this last trait however is dramatically necessary) nor does Carlos use religious language. The minor personages of the drama include the Canon in the opening scenes as well as the Padre Guardián and the Hermano Melitón. There is much ecclesiastical small-talk. More important still is the scenic effect of the convent interiors, cells, crosses, oratories, breviaries, the organ heard playing « within », the choir chanting matins, etc., etc. Passages like :

Los sublimes acentos de ese coro
De bienaventurados,
Y los ecos pausados
Del órgano sonoro,
Que cual de incienso vaporosa nube,
Al trono santo del Eterno sube,
Difunden en mi alma
Bálsamo dulce de consuelo y calma. (II, IV.)

gain greatly by such scenic accompaniments. The assurances of the Franciscan Prior to Leonor, again, hardly befit the spirit of tragedy which for its own purpose looks on the catastrophe as the end :

Todas las tribulaciones
De este mundo fugitivo,
Son, señora, pasajeras,
Al cabo encuentran alivio
Y al Dios de bondad se sirve,
Y se le aplaca lo mismo
En el claustro, en el desierto,
De la corte en el bullicio,
Cuando se le entrega el alma
Con fe viva y pecho limpio.

They are not merely, let it be noted, the words of an isolated character; and they are contradicted by none, and echoed by not a few.

invoking mercy from heaven as their apostate brother destroys himself rings in one's ears and forbids one to consider the wholly pagan interpretation. Yet, just as truly, the portrayal of the hero and Rivas' evident attempts to justify his sub-title destroy the view that the play is an exposition of the dealings of Providence. Either view, taken singly, is impossible. Though Catholicism and determinism do not readily go hand in hand, nor does the Romantic hero play the villain to perfection in the moral apologue, an author who has affinities — temperamental, moral and artistic — with both the one and the other cannot confine himself to either with success. This would seem to be the true explanation of the contradictions in the design of *Don Alvaro*.

II

Execution. — The debt of *Don Alvaro* to French Romanticism. — Nevertheless it is essentially a Spanish play. — Its local colour. — Construction of *Don Alvaro* : critical analysis. — The criticisms of *Azorín* on *Don Alvaro* : the uses of coincidence; unlikely situations; artificiality.

Any just estimate of *Don Alvaro* as a whole will take into account the date of its appearance. It was the first properly Romantic play to be produced in Spain, the dramatic and practical manifesto of Spanish Romanticism ¹, the weapon with which the protagonist leapt into the arena ². Nearly

1. As Rivas' contemporaries recognised, though they were by no means agreed as to what exactly Spanish Romanticism was. (I hope to go into this question at greater length shortly.) Cf. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos in *Semanario Pintoresco*, 1842 (p. 399) :

El Sr. Saavedra... se afilió... bajo la bandera de Victor Hugo, y dominado por su ardiente fantasía, lanzó al teatro español el señalado drama titulado *D. Alvaro, o la fuerza del sino*; el primero propiamente de la escuela romántica que señalan nuestros fastos teatrales.

2. See, for example, the critique of « J. V. » (Juan Valera?) in *El Paraíso* for Dec. 2 1838 (the play having been given at Sevilla on the preceding Sunday) :

Este drama es a nuestro parecer el vuelo del genio rompiendo las cadenas que lo subyugaron, y salvando osado todos los obstáculos que oponérsele pudieran. La España no había tenido en esta época

twelve months earlier Martínez de la Rosa's *Conjuración de Venecia* had been played — a timid if praiseworthy attempt to break loose from the classical tradition and the constant imitations — even adaptations and translations — of second-rate French dramas. In the same year of 1834 Larra's *Macias* had appeared, with evident leanings towards the school of Victor Hugo, yet expressly disclaiming Romantic principles, neither a « *comedia antigua* », a « *comedia moderna* », a « *tragedia* » or a « *drama mixto* ». « *Quien busque en él el sello de una escuela* », said its author in a prefatory note, « *quien le invente un nombre para clasificarlo, se equivocará* ». These and a handful of other plays were preparing the public for what was to come. But *Don Alvaro* crossed the boundary line boldly, made a daring excursion into the Romantic, and brought back trophies of an unmistakable kind¹. It was the signal for others to follow, the first of a series of Romantic plays which are notable if not numerous. But for all that it was destined to be a play of its kind, apart. It was to stand alone, beyond risk of imitation; to stand secure when its contemporaries passed away with the fashion. Neglected for a time, it sprang into life again like all great works, and will remain, when every allowance is made for its faults, the *chef-d'œuvre* of Romantic drama in Spain.

In launching this lusty vessel Rivas was of course following the precedent of Victor Hugo, and if we say that he was indebted to French example it will be understood that

del *romanticismo* ninguna producción original, que la envaneciera, cuando el autor del don Alvaro se lanzó a la arena y mostró un camino literario, desconocido hasta entonces.

1. See L. A. Cueto's articles in the *Artista*, 1835 (Vol. III, pp. 106-8, 110-4), referred to *passim* in this study, for the development of this point of view, as it struck a contemporary writer. We are now able to take, of course, a less limited survey of the whole field.

the debt was of an entirely different kind from that incurred by the adaptors of Scribe, by the school of Moratín — or shall we say by Rivas himself in a play like *Tanto vales cuanto tienes*? « Predomina en *Don Alvaro* », says Sr. Piñeyro, « la influencia de ideas y formas francesas; es del principio al fin una obra romántica, y si hubiese quedado toda en prosa parecería hermana carnal de las de Ducange y otros proveedores de los teatros situados en lo que en el París de esa época llamaban el « boulevard del crimen »; pero la variada versificación, el sabor calderoniano y el lirismo de algunos trozos le imprimen más elevado carácter y contribuyeron a salvarlo del descrédito en que otras piezas más aplaudidas sucumbieron ¹ ». This, without being exhaustive, is a succinctly worded estimate of the position, a little over-generous on the side of the French. There was that which was evidently French in the Romanticism of *Don Alvaro*; there was that which was pre-eminently Spanish too; and Cañete could even write of it, though few would entirely agree with him, that it was the personification of the Romanticism of Spain ². But most important of all, there was that which was common to the Romanticism — to all the greatest drama indeed, — of every country in the world, and it is by this above all that *Don Alvaro* will live in literature.

Let us look for a moment at the principles of French Romantic drama and judge *Don Alvaro* by them. That Rivas the dramatist would have subscribed to the Preface to *Cromwell* is on the face of it clear. Of *Don Alvaro* it may

1. E. Piñeyro : *El Romanticismo en España*, p. 74.

2. « Es la verdadera y más valiente personificación de nuestro romanticismo, no semejante al francés, no identificado con el alemán, distinto del italiano y del inglés, más que en ninguna de las producciones, en esta peregrina creación acaso la más notable por su nacionalidad de todo nuestro teatro. » (Rivas' Works ed. 1854, Vol. I, pp. xxx-xxxi.)

be said « que le laid y existe à côté du beau, le difforme près du gracieux, le grotesque au revers du sublime, le mal avec le bien, l'ombre avec la lumière ». Rivas' wings are not cut with the scissors of the unities of time and place; he openly defies both unities, and *simplicity* gives place to *unity* of action¹, at least in the dramatist's intention. He has chosen the « characteristic² », if dramatist ever did; and if ever a play was impregnated with the spirit of a country that play is *Don Alvaro*³. Rivas has not merely added « quelques touches criardes çà et là sur un ensemble du reste parfaitement faux et conventionnel »; his local colour is indeed « dans le cœur même de l'œuvre ». As to the style of the drama, the words of the famous preface might have been written expressly for it — « passant d'une naturelle allure de la comédie à la tragédie, du sublime au grotesque; tour à tour positif et poétique, tout ensemble artiste et inspiré, profond et soudain, large et vrai ». In the matter of the use of prose⁴ Rivas goes beyond Victor Hugo himself

1. « Du reste, gardons-nous de confondre l'unité avec la simplicité d'action. L'unité d'ensemble ne répudie en aucune façon les actions secondaires sur lesquelles doit s'appuyer l'action principale. Il faut surtout que ces parties, sagement subordonnées au tout, gravitent sans cesse vers l'action centrale et se groupent autour d'elle aux différents étages ou plutôt sur les divers plans du drame. L'unité d'ensemble est la loi de perspective du théâtre. » (*Préface de Cromwell*). We may suppose that it is by this reasoning that Rivas would justify the shiftings of interest which we have noticed above. There is of course strictly no « underplot » or « secondary action » in this play.

2. « Si le poète doit *choisir* dans les choses (et il le doit), ce n'est pas le *beau* mais le caractéristique. »

3. Though perhaps less with the spirit of the eighteenth century, in which the events are supposed to take place. We imagine ourselves rather in the Middle Ages; and the Italian wars recall the Golden Age.

4. *Ibid.*: « Une autre fraction de la réforme inclinerait pour le drame écrit en vers et en prose tout à la fois, comme a fait Shakespeare.

back to the practice of Shakespeare, whom he also vividly recalls in his use of the comic interlude and in individual scenes which we shall note hereafter. This mingling or alternation of idealism and realism in its various forms is perhaps nowhere better seen than in *Don Alvaro* in the whole of Spanish drama ¹.

But looked at from another point of view, *Don Alvaro* stood for a return to the drama of Lope de Vega, Calderón and the Golden Age. This is evident both from general characteristics and individual scenes. One thinks inevitably, for example, of *La Vida es Sueño* ² on hearing the famous *décimas* of Don Alvaro's soliloquy :

¡Qué carga tan insufrible
Es el ambiente vital,
Para el mezquino mortal
Que nace en signo terrible!...

¡Terrible cosa es nacer!

and in not a few passages where the inflated language gives

Cette manière a ses avantages. Il pourrait cependant y avoir disparate dans les transitions d'une forme à l'autre, et quand un tissu est homogène, il est bien plus solide. Au reste, que le drame soit écrit en prose, qu'il soit écrit en vers, qu'il soit écrit en vers et en prose, ce n'est là qu'une question secondaire. »

1. So José Yxart (*El Arte escénico en España*, Vol. I, pp. 22-3) thinks, and characterises the drama thus :

« La prosa corriente y jugosa, junto al lirismo poético; las escenas de aguaducho y mesón, el reparto de la bazofia, entreverados con los alaridos y los sollozos de la pasión en delirio; cuadros populares con toques calientes y espontáneos al lado de las situaciones ideales y extremadas. »

2. Cf. with the first of these *décimas* the idea of Heaven's wrath in Segismundo's first speech (I, II, 25 ff.) and with the second, third and fourth the tone of misery pervading the whole of the same speech.

a false impression of profound thought the reader remembers the same play.

Of general ideas, that of the sentiment of honour, which runs through the whole of *Don Alvaro*, forms the strongest link in the chain which binds that play to the Golden Age. The code of honour does not appear in a form so highly developed as in Calderón, nor is the word « honour » such an obsession with all the actors of the drama as with those of the plays of the seventeenth century which have that subject as theme. In the « pistol » scene, for example, the word is not mentioned. D. Carlos and D. Alfonso, on the other hand, are typically Calderonian characters, ministers of vengeance who after their sister's supposed shame live for vengeance only. It is that shame and not their father's death that they bear in mind; their sister's honour has become theirs. Hear Don Carlos in the course of a single soliloquy :

... Voy a hallar
Los pedazos de mi honor.

* * *

¿ Mas si la suerte me da
Tan inesperado medio
De dar a mi honor remedio,
El perderlo qué será ?

* * *

... Sólo he venido
A buscar al matador
De mi padre y de mi honor.

* * *

A Italia vine anhelando
Mi honor manchado lavar

¿Y mi empresa ha de empezar
El honor amancillando ¹?

And at the end of that soliloquy we find two of the most Calderonian quatrains in the play; Don Carlos will find his sister as well as Don Alvaro in order to kill them both, and (more characteristic still) he will nurse this man back to life in order to kill him and avenge his honour — for it would be no vengeance were he to die of his wounds :

¡Cuán feliz será mi suerte
 Si la venganza y castigo
 Sólo de un golpe consigo,
 A los dos dando la muerte!...
 Mas... ¡ah!... no me precipite
 Mi honra ¡cielos! ofendida.
 Guardad a este hombre la vida
 Para que yo se la quite ¹.

Both brothers, in accusing Don Alvaro, describe their « honour » as lost. Don Carlos represents the supposedly dead sister as begging him to restore « her honour and his own ² » Don Alfonso is blunter :

DON ALFONSO

Una
 Sola hermana me dejasteis
 Perdida y sin honra... ¡Oh furia!

1. Act III, Scene VIII, cf. III, IX.

DON CARLOS

¿Yo al matador,
 De mi padre y de mi honor
 Pudiera hermano llamar?

2.

El retrato de la infame
 Vuestra cómplice os perdió,
 Y sin lengua me pidió
 Que el suyo y mi honor reclame.

(IV, 1.)

DON ALVARO

¡ Mi Leonor! ¡ Ah! No sin honra,
Un religioso os lo jura ¹...

The other general characteristic which suggests the Golden Age, and more especially Lope de Vega, is the use of humour. But, although this humour is of the broad kind which continually recurs in the drama of the seventeenth century, it is conveyed — not, as in these plays, through the medium of the *gracioso*, but in Shakespearean wise by the interspersal of scenes of a comic kind between those which make up the body of the play. These we shall shortly examine.

Don Alvaro was pre-eminently a national play in its setting. Sevilla is the centre of the play, — its exiled author's home ². The opening stage directions reveal a typical Andalusian scene in which no detail is lacking to give the national tone to the play. Then there is Hornachuelos during the *romería*; even the Spaniard of another region will recognise his country in the picture. When we leave Spain for Italy the « risueño campo » reminds us as surely of the *huerta* of Sevilla as does Calderón's « Siena », in *La Devoción de la Cruz*, of the wilds of Castile. And finally we come back to Hornachuelos, — to a district famous for a peculiarly national and religious legend ³; it is here that the drama ends. Nor is it without significance that Don Alvaro had

1. Act V, Scene vi.

2. « Asombroso es que en las márgenes del Loira y después de diez años de emigración recordase los menores accidentes de un *aguaducho*, el *altozano*, el *convento de los Remedios*, el *picadero de la alameda vieja*. » (Cueto, writing from Sevilla, in the *Artista*, 1836, III, 112.)

3. See, for a study of this region and this legend (« leyenda de la mujer penitente »), Cueto, *Discurso necrológico*, pp. 561-3, and A. Guichot y Sierra: *La Montaña de los Angeles*, Sevilla, 1896.

first met Doña Leonor in the cathedral of Sevilla ¹, and that he invokes Sevilla and the Guadalquivir in his most impassioned soliloquy ².

We come now to the much-debated question of the construction of *Don Alvaro*, which has only been partially discussed in our exposition of its design. We may, however, even with those slender data, start by putting aside such a judgment as Villergas' :

Verdaderamente, si por romanticismo debía entenderse el desorden, el atropello de todas las reglas del arte, *Don Alvaro* podía reclamar el primer rango entre las producciones de su clase, género o especie, porque difícilmente producirá el entendimiento humano cosa más excéntrica que dicho drama ³.

The best answer to criticism of this kind is a survey of the drama's course and construction.

There is no underplot, and the main interest is uppermost (or is meant to be so) in the spectator's mind throughout. The play ~~falls~~ perfectly naturally into three divisions ⁴ :

1. IV, 5.

DON ALVARO

¡Hora de maldición, aciaga hora
Fué aquella en que te ví la vez primera
En el soberbio templo de Sevilla...!

2. III, 3. ¡Sevilla!!! ¡Guadalquivir!!!
 Cuál atormentáis mi mente!...

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

4. A countryman of Shakespeare might be forgiven for preferring to follow the divisions implicit in Shakespearean tragedy and to see in Don Alvaro's history from his first appearance the « conflict » so familiar in our own greatest dramatist's works. These divisions would work out thus :

I. Act I, Scenes I-III. *Exposition*.

II. Act I, Scene IV to Act I, Scene VII. *Conflict, first phase*. Alvaro's fortunes rising; his happiness becoming assured.

I. Act I, Scenes I-VIII : *Exposition*. Preparation for the action proper, ending with the *determining event* (appearance of the Marquis, Act I, Scene VIII) which sets the plot in motion.

[Act II, Scene I, to Act III, Scene II. May be considered as belonging to II.]

II. Act III, Scene III, to Act V, Scene IX : *Development* (or *Conflict*). Don Alvaro *versus* the power termed by the

III. Act I, Scene VIII. *Crisis of Conflict*: Death of Marquis; a situation created which clearly wrecks that happiness — or so it strikes the spectator at the moment.

IV. Act II, Scene I to Act V, Scene IX. *Conflict, second phase*. Alvaro's fortunes decline; he courts danger and avoids death, but is not happy and cannot bese. Yet the possibility of Leonor's re-appearance and a *dénouement* is not entirely removed, since we know that she lives. The slaying of the brothers might be equivalent to the removal of obstacles to the marriage, since the father was slain by accident. We feel, however, this chance to be remote.

V. Act V, Scenes IX-X. *Catastrophe*, caused by the very event which might, in different circumstances, have caused a *dénouement*.

The great advantage of this division is that it limits the preparation for the conflict to what one feels to be the exposition proper, ending with the silent scene in which the complete emotional tone is given. But we feel that it is not the true division of the play from the author's point of view. It makes the subject of the play « the love affairs of Don Alvaro » or « the fortunes and misfortunes of Don Alvaro », whereas it is stated in reality to be « Don Alvaro or the force of destiny ». Now, although of course in the wider sense Don Alvaro's *sino* is responsible not only for the whole of the play but for the whole of his life, it is incontestable that the *sino* of which the hero speaks in his soliloquy is (shall we say?) *roused* or *put into motion* by the explosion of the pistol; that the « conflict » is occasioned by that event alone; and that it is one between himself and a force which endeavours to keep him in the world against his will. Hence the « conflict » (or better the « development », since one feels the course of events to be rather of that nature) is shortened, as in the division of the play indicated in the text above.

author *La Fuerza del Sino*, ending in the appearance of D^a. Leonor, which causes the

III. Act V, Scenes IX-X : *Catastrophe*.

The masterly exposition, so admirably placed in surroundings which the dramatist knew well, not only gives the predominant Spanish tone and conveys the impression of Don Alvaro's greatness and mysterious origin, but also acquaints the spectator with the hero's position *vis-à-vis* Leonor and her father without making him feel in any way that the information is being artificially conveyed. From the stage point of view, as well as from that of the construction, a bright and animated opening scene has everything to recommend it. The device of starting, as it were, upon a high note in Scene I and then descending to a lower pitch in Scene II, while the necessary information is given in the discussion with the Canon, is one frequently employed by Shakespeare, as in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Julius Caesar*, even more markedly than here. So, too, is the withholding of the hero until he has been presented to us in the light of the dramatist's own requirements, though the expedient of Scene III is not paralleled in Shakespeare.

It is unnecessary to say more at this stage about the pistol scene, — which is at once strong and weak, — than has been said already¹. Before we study the development of the drama, however, something must be said of the place in its scheme of Act II and the first two scenes of Act III.

It is extraordinary that during the development of the situation occasioned by the determining event the protagonist should disappear for the space of over an act (Acts II and III, 1, 2). This seems to the writer the weakest spot, constructionally, in the play². Since the character

1. See above, p. 398.

2. Though (see p. 399 above) it comes at a point where the author

of Don Alvaro makes the unity of the drama, it follows that in so far as our interest in his fortunes is lost, the unity is to that extent destroyed. The long and rather tedious prologue, in II, 1, to the student's declaration of his identity may perhaps be justified by the knowledge which that declaration brings us that the forces of vengeance are unchained. But few readers or spectators would defend the author's action in occupying the whole of the remainder of the act with the wanderings of the (at this point) distinctly uninteresting Leonor. We are not greatly attracted by Leonor, except in so far as she may influence the fate of her lover, and a compression of the second act to two short scenes (the rest being related) would give us all the essential facts¹. We are not even made to feel in these scenes, except fitfully, the pervading interest of Don Alvaro's fate. He is allowed to disappear entirely, in spirit as in person.

Dr. A. C. Bradley, in speaking of the construction of Shakespearean tragedy, points out that Shakespeare sometimes keeps his hero off the stage for quite a considerable length of time after the crisis while the counter-action is rising : « Macbeth, Hamlet and Coriolanus during about 450 lines, Lear for nearly 500, Romeo for about 550². » It is interesting that the long absence of Don Alvaro should come exactly at the same point in the drama, and that it should be compensated (as it were) by the prominent position taken by Leonor, as Romeo's absence is made up for by the presence

has quite unnecessarily put the spectator out of sympathy with the hero.

1. A knowledge of the actions of D. Alfonso, of the escape of D^a Leonor and her stay in Córdoba, and her overhearing of the conversation in the inn, might all be conveyed in one of these scenes. The other would be the long but psychologically skilful scene (II, vii) in which Leonor interviews the Padre Guardián.

2. *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 57.

of Juliet ¹. But there is no reason to suppose that Rivas had studied the construction of Shakespeare's tragedies; in fact, had he done so he would surely have realised how unprecedented was his keeping the hero off the stage for some eight hundred and fifty Shakespearean lines, or no less than an act and two scenes of a five act play.

As well as the second act, the first two scenes of the third act, which have given offence to some critics ², might have been deleted and the plot modified accordingly. A very few lines, or a very short scene, would have been sufficient to re-introduce the hero, and it would have been easy enough to invent another means by which Don Alvaro should save Don Carlos' life. This point was made as early as 1835 ³, and it is surprising that, if the Duke was attempting to shorten the play, he did not profit by the criticism.

When Don Alvaro comes on the scene again he is given a soliloquy to reinforce the impression made in the first part

1. But Juliet, as Dr. Bradley says, has the same dramatic importance as Romeo, whereas *Don Alvaro* is the story of the protagonist, and is not called, or intended to be considered as, *Alvaro y Leonor*.

2. See p. 435 below, and note 1 to that page.

3. By « C. A. » (see p. 58) in the *Artista*, Vol. I, pp. 153-6 : « Se ha dicho generalmente que debieran acortarse muchas escenas, y suprimirse enteramente otras; y en esto, como en todo lo demás, ha habido notable exageración. No obstante, el autor ha empezado ya a aligerar su drama, y aun le aconsejaríamos que hiciese desaparecer enteramente alguna escena : por ejemplo, la de los jugadores, que no es de muy buen efecto por la felonía de los oficiales, que en todo lo demás del drama no desmienten un momento la nobleza del ejército a que pertenecen : escena enteramente inútil y aun perjudicial, en nuestro concepto; pues para que Don Alvaro salve la vida a D. Carlos, no pueden faltar medios en un país en estado de guerra, y además de esto, considerando el tiempo que dura el monólogo de D. Alvaro, durante todo el cual se está batiendo D. Carlos, resulta que éste pelea con sus asesinos un cuarto de hora por lo menos, lo que no parece muy natural. »

of the exposition, and (by a skilful device) to put the issue of the conflict before the spectator. It may be doubted if one spectator in a thousand thinks of the reiterated assertion of the force of destiny as a clearly-worded notice that the « conflict » is about to begin and that the names of the combatants are Don Alvaro and his « signo terrible ». Yet this is quite evidently the second function of the famous soliloquy. Were we not distinctly told we should assume that the question to be worked out is that which we have already been made to ask ourselves : Will Don Alvaro marry D^a Leonor? During the last act we have no doubt asked it again, as we find that Leonor seems to have cut herself off from the possibility of seeing her lover once more. But greater obstacles, we say, have been overcome on the stage before. Now we have to be warned that the problem is quite another one, and how much it says for the dramatist's skill that even the artificial device of a soliloquy does not make us suspicious!

Without making more than a mention of the dramatic irony with which the question debated by the principal characters of whether Leonor is alive or dead plays over the whole of the conflict ¹, let us see how that conflict develops.

1. *E. g.*, III, III.

DON ALVARO

Socórreme, mi Leonor,
Gala del suelo andaluz,
Que ya eres ángel de luz
Junto al trono del Señor.

III, VIII.

DON CARLOS

¿Y a la infame... me atribulo,
Con él en Italia tiene?

IV, I.

DON ALVARO

Y yo, a aquel ángel divino,
Ni seduje, ni perdí.

The question we now ask is : Will Don Alvaro succeed in vanquishing his assumed- « destiny » and find the death he desires? (He himself shuts out the possibility of suicide.)

We have preferred the term « development » to « conflict » for the reason that one feels throughout the one-sidedness of the battle. True, there are crests and troughs of interest, — there is a rising and falling in the development which marks the occasions on which Don Alvaro meets death, and escapes it. But if the dramatist marks the plot out in this way, the interest of the spectator does not rise and fall correspondingly. He scarcely considers the possibility that Don Carlos or Don Alfonso will kill the protagonist. He is convinced (so well has that soliloquy done its work) that either death will come « accidentally » (to use the common phrase) perhaps in such a way as to show that there was a Power overruling this « destiny » or that

Ambos nos están mirando
Desde el cielo... etc.

DON ALVARO

¡Don Félix! ¡Don Félix! ¡ah!
¿Vive? ¿Vive? ¡oh justo Dios!

DON CARLOS

Vive; ¿y qué os importa a vos?
Muy pronto no vivirá... etc.

IV, v.

DON ALVARO

¡Leonor! ¡Leonor! Si existes, desdichada,
¡Oh, que golpe te espera!...

-(So also V, vi; V, viii, *passim*.)

(as in fact happens) the hero will be driven to give up the fight with his stars, and defy them after all by taking his own life.

But the emotional tone of the scenes in question marks by its risings and fallings what should be the successive phases of the spectator's interest. And we have a progression in the mind of an ideally impressionable spectator, which would be something like this :

Act III, Scene III (*Don Carlos* : ¡ Traidores!...) to end of Act IV, Scene I. Rise of interest and growing tension of emotional tone with discovery of D. Alvaro's history by D. Carlos and the quarrel scene which follows.

Act IV, Scene II. Fall of interest with death of D. Carlos and relaxation of emotional tension. (Note that this relaxation is aided by (1) use of prose after four scenes — two of them long scenes — in verse; and (2) narration and not representation of the events of the duel.

Act IV, Scenes II-VI. Immediate rise of interest, caused by the realisation that the death of D. Carlos will be followed by the execution of the victor, and the gradual resignation of D. Alvaro to his fate.

Act IV, Scenes VII-VIII. Fall of interest with escape of D. Alvaro.

Act V, Scenes IV-IX. Rise of interest caused by the appearance of the more terrible D. Alfonso. The emotional tension becomes so great that two comic scenes (V, VII, VIII) are inserted to relieve it. The interest suddenly reaches an unusually high point at the appearance of D^a. Leonor and the instinctive realisation that the catastrophe must now be at hand.

Act V, Scenes IX-X (end). Final satisfaction of interest with the fulfilment of the catastrophe. It may be noted in parenthesis that the first three scenes of Act V seem to repeat the dramatic blunder of Acts II and III, I-II, but in

reality the absence of the hero is easily justifiable : the introduction of Hermano Melitón relieves the tension, and, besides this, some explanation is needed of the change in D. Alvaro which has been wrought by the fulfilment of the concluding words of Act IV. This explanation is supplied by the conversations in V, I-II. We easily guess the identity of the Padre Rafael « que es un siervo de Dios a quien todos debemos imitar ». The Hermano Melitón elicits his recent history from the prior, shows something of the mystery which still surrounds him (« Vino al convento de un modo tan raro, y nadie lo viene nunca a ver, ni sabemos donde nació »), and finally in one last phrase recreates the Satanic impression which is to dominate the final scenes¹.

There remains only the catastrophe to be considered, and in this we must on the one hand recognise to the full an undeniable dramatic power and on the other admit that it is exceedingly sensational². Neither of these contentions

I. V, III.

HERMANO MELITÓN

El otro es...

DON ALFONSO

El del infierno.

HERMANO MELITÓN

Pues ahora caigo en quién es :
El alto, adusto, moreno,
Ojos vivos, rostro lleno...

2. Guichot emphasises the skill in the setting of the Hornachuelos scenes, which even to those unfamiliar with the country and with the legend of the *mujer penitente* would aid the impression of mystery and terror which Rivas attempts to convey. « El público... vió la terminación del interesante y profundo argumento en los mismos riscos de la Montaña angélica, sintiendo el horror de sus precipicios, el misterio de su famosa gruta, el dolor de una penitente, la angustia de trágica escena. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 215.)

requires emphasis. The *crescendo* with which the dialogue between Don Alfonso and Don Alvaro is worked up never diminishes in intensity, the effect is heightened by the combat, and before it can wane we have the new and even more arresting situation which we realise must result in the discovery of Doña Leonor. This, in spite of Don Alvaro's affirmation earlier in the scene¹, never for one moment suggests to the spectator a remission of the tragic ending. Yet the dramatic irony leading to the actual consummation is so unexpected that the stabbing of Leonor forms a worthy climax to the increasingly intensifying situation. It is not in the least the sensationalism of Don Alvaro's language, of the thunder and lightning and the appearance of Doña Leonor that are responsible for the effectiveness of the catastrophe.

The absence of an underplot² in tragedy — or even in Romantic drama — tends necessarily towards monotony. Any such tendency in *Don Alvaro* is avoided in two ways: (1) by the interspersal of the comic element in the Hermano Melitón scenes and less markedly in those where Tío Paco and Tío Trabuco appear; (2) by the frequent changes of scene and setting.

If the former proceeding needs no justification, — at least to English readers and Shakespearians — the latter has, according to a number of critics, destroyed the essential unity of the play, and must therefore be noticed. Without

I. V, 9.

DON ALVARO

¡Todo puede repararse!
Si Leonor existe, todo...

2. By this term is not meant the repetition of the main plot in another form as in the *Comedia de Capa y Espada* but a second plot with an independent interest, if sometimes related and always subsidiary to that of the main action, as in Shakespeare's plays.

maintaining that the « unities » of time and place in the literal sense must be observed in drama, it is possible to concede some measure of justification to the criticism. Were the playgoer held, as he should be held from beginning to end, by the supreme interest of a hero of remarkable power at war with a force — whether human or superhuman, — the shifting of the battlefield from Spain to Italy would matter nothing. But we have seen that, not only does that interest flag, but the author is continually concerning himself with the partial and temporary effect rather than with the *ensemble*, the totality, — it would be begging the question to say the unity — of the drama. He is concerned to portray striking, compelling, « dramatic » scenes, and to them he sacrifices at times not merely unity of design, but unity of construction, of effect. The result is that the spectator, and even the reader, — for of the two the spectator is the more prone to the fallacy — unconsciously carries away the impression, not of a series of events in which are unrolled before his eyes the successive stages in the life and conflicts of the protagonist, but as a series of pictures — of *tableaux* — in which the hero, with his attendant figures, strikes characteristic postures to impress him. The « silent scene », in which Don Alvaro passes across the stage, that is to say, is not as unique as it appears. It takes its place — the first place — in the succession of pictures which make up, as it were, the play. And its companions will be picked out by six or seven readers out of ten as the same. Let us give them as titles the words which are spoken when the author seems to hold up his hand and bid us look upon the picture he has painted :

1. (I, VIII.) Sí, debo morir... pero a vuestras manos
 (*Pone una rodilla en tierra.*)

2. (III, III.) ¡Terrible cosa es nacer!

3. (III, VIII.) ¡Cielos!... no... no me engañé,
Esta es mi hermana Leonor...
- Or (IV, I.) ¡Ah, traidor!... ¡Ah, fementido!...
Violaste infame un secreto,
Que yo débil, yo indiscreto,
Moribundo... inadvertido...
4. (V, VI.) Toma. (*Le da una bofetada.*)
5. (V, X.) ¡Es un espectro!... Imagen adorada...
¡Leonor! ¡Leonor!

It might possibly be maintained — though we could not ourselves subscribe to the thesis — that Rivas is thinking primarily throughout the drama of the picture — the *tableau* — rather than of the action¹. One may, however, allow that he inclines towards the *tableau* not only in this, but in many of his works where it had more right to the place. The success of his *romances*, for example, is due rather to the excellence of the pictorial gems strung together on the thread of the plot than to the effectiveness of the plot as such.

The foregoing remarks upon the execution of Rivas' drama leave out of consideration several points which have been made by Azorín in his *Rivas y Larra*² and developed at some length. So few studies upon Rivas of any size have been written that it is scarcely possible to neglect this book, in spite of the extravagance of many of its judgments which is only paralleled by its extreme readableness from first

1. Funes (*op. cit.*, p. 67) describes Leonor at confession « junto a una cruz, y a la fresca... y en romance en *fo...* y a la luna ». And Cueto (*Artista*, Vol. III, p. 107; cf. p. 110) said in 1835 : « Su argumento es la reunión de los sucesos más interesantes de la vida de un desgraciado », which at any rate predisposes towards this view, if nothing more.

2. Madrid, Renacimiento, 1916.

page to last. An example of Azorín's uncritical method has already been mentioned in a discussion of the well-known *critique* in the *Revista española*¹. But his charges against *Don Alvaro* are too grave, and contain too obviously large an element of truth, to pass entirely unanswered.

Azorín's running criticisms of the action of *Don Alvaro* may be summarised (though he does not so group them) under three main headings which it will be convenient to examine each in its turn :

1. He censures the plot because its course, like the final consummation of the play, depends upon certain coincidences which he considers unnatural.

2. Apart from these, he finds unlikely situations and events throughout the drama, which give it an extravagant character.

3. He condemns various scenes as being melodramatic, artificial and absurd.

We shall examine each of the first two criticisms in its turn. The third has already been dealt with.

1. It will not be denied that the plot contains a number of coincidences upon which the catastrophe ultimately depends, the chief of all being Don Alvaro's unwitting choice of a retreat so near to that of D^a Leonor. Azorín cites the following :

Had the Canon not been at the gathering in Act I, Scene II, Don Alvaro might have successfully escaped with Leonor². Had Don Alvaro's pistol not gone off, not struck the Marquis, or not killed him, the easily vanquished lover's death might have ended the play in Act I³. Had Alvaro, on his sick-bed, not swooned at the name of Calatrava, or had Carlos

1. See above, p. 75.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 33-4.

not mentioned it, the latter would have had no suspicions¹. It would not be difficult to add to the number of these chance happenings or on the other hand to reply thus to the critic: But if the Canon had not been in the group, some other person might not have been averse to currying favour with the Marquis by warning him of the danger. Or some other accident than the Marquis' death might have been the climax of the play. Or a hundred other signs might have been given by Don Alvaro on his sick-bed of his true identity. Or Don Carlos, never shown us as a man of the highest honour, might have discovered the picture of Leonor by means which can easily be imagined.

But this is not the true answer to give the critic. It is that tragedy (and still more *drama*) has always admitted the element of chance as one of the forces which produce the catastrophe². Professor Bradley has pointed out that in each of Shakespeare's four greatest tragedies some one coincidence, or absence of coincidence, would have prevented its consummation, and adds very truly that it is just this element of chance which moulds our own actual lives :

«It may be called an accident... that Romeo never got the Friar's message about the potion, and that Juliet did not awake from her long sleep a minute sooner; an accident that Edgar arrived at the prison just too late to save Cordelia's life; an accident that Desdemona dropped her handkerchief at the most fatal of moments; an accident that the pirate ship attacked Hamlet's ship, so that he was able to return forthwith to Denmark. Now this operation of acci-

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

2. As the writer in the *Artista* (Vol. I, p. 155) pointed out from the beginning : « Dícese... que es inverosímil la muerte del marqués de Calatrava... porque es una *casualidad* el que así suceda. Nadie niega que sea una casualidad; pero es por desgracia harto frecuente en este mundo. »

dent is a fact, and a prominent fact, of human life. To exclude it *wholly* from tragedy therefore, would be, we may say, to fail in truth ¹. »

The test of unreality in a play, after all, is the impression which the play makes upon the spectator or the reader — not upon the number of flaws which the critic thinks he can detect upon careful examination. The chance presence of the Canon at the *aguaducho*, undoubtedly the cause of the alarm being given which leads to the Marquis' death, is explained, as we shall see, very plausibly, and is not felt, on the stage, to be, in the technical sense, an « accident » at all. Pistols, when handled by men in excitable states of mind, have a tendency in real life to go off, and wound or kill innocent people. Sick men habitually tell tales without meaning to do so, even as Don Alvaro did. All these accidental happenings may be paralleled from the reading of almost any day's newspaper. A crime is discovered because an advertisement strikes the eye of the one person among a million readers who is capable of giving the evidence required. A cyclist looks round in the busy street at the one moment when the lorry which throws and kills him is coming round the corner. The invalid in delirium raves about a hundred subjects of which only one conveys a meaning to the lover by his bedside. These things, called chance by some, and providence by others, are in any case, the warp and woof of life, and as such have their place by right in tragedy. The only question is whether in our particular drama their place is too large. Does coincidence succeed coincidence in such quick succession that the reader or spectator cries : « There is too much of this! It is too great a strain upon my credulity! I cannot admit it! » Few would feel thus about Don Alvaro. Most of the coincidences the

1. *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 15.

critic has to search for, and if when his indictment is concluded we look back over the play and exclaim at the tortuous ways by which the action has reached its end, the effect which the consideration of them has upon us is, principally to make us realise the importance of chance, the *fuera del sino*, or to quote Shakespeare's unintended but unsurpassed justification of the place he gives to chance in his tragedies :

There's a Divinity that shapes our ends
Rough-hew them how we will ¹.

2. The unlikeliness of the events which Azorín continually condemns is equally debatable. One feels for ever that he is straining after effect ², and raising imaginary difficulties in order to increase the weight of the few charges which he feels to be important. The opposition of the Marquis to his daughter's suitor is entirely natural ³. Don Alvaro may be an adventurer; he is not presented to the Marquis in the same light as to the audience; and money is not everything to a man of gentle birth, be he never so poverty-stricken ⁴. The student's freedom of speech (II, 1) is accounted for by the fact that he considers the matter at an end ⁵ ;

1. *Hamlet*, V, II, 11.

2. *E. g.* p. 52, where he declares that Don Alvaro should have worn Leonor's picture next to his heart, not kept it in his trunk! This is too ludicrous even for *belles-lettres*, let alone for criticism!

3. Azorín urges (pp. 26-7) that the Marquis was acting unnaturally and unreasonably in objecting to Don Alvaro's suit.

4. The Canon sums up the case for the Marquis quite adequately : « El señor Marqués hace muy bien. El caso es sencillísimo. Don Alvaro llegó hace dos meses; nadie sabe quien es. Ha pedido en casamiento a doña Leonor, y el Marqués, no juzgándolo buen partido para su hija, se la ha negado... En todo lo cual el señor Marqués se ha portado como persona prudente. » (*Don Alvaro*, I, II.)

5. Evidently this occurred to the critic (pp. 38-9) when he had eloquently rebuked the student, and all he can reply to the objection

his patron has gone to America and he himself is returning to his studies. It is not surprising to read that Leonor could live in concealment for a year with her aunt in Córdoba¹; even if the brother were unusually persistent in his search a woman of wit could outdo him. And all the indications point to the search having been primarily for Don Alvaro, for the brother learned of his sister's death without investigating it, no doubt taking the attitude indicated by those last words of his father :

DOÑA LEONOR

¡Padre, padre!!!

MARQUÉS

Aparta; sacadme de aquí..., donde muera sin que esta vil me contamine con tal nombre...

Azorín objects to the scene in which Don Alvaro unwittingly reveals his secret to his enemy². Why did so wary a man, he asks, confide it to anyone at all? Because he believed himself to be dying, is the answer. Why did he not confide it to the surgeon or the chaplain? Precisely because he was human, and this officer who had saved his life in return for a like service was thereby bound to him by ties as strong as those of blood. And why (we are asked) did he not suspect that this man, whose likeness he might have seen³ (or might equally well have not, for how often had he been in Leonor's house?) was the brother of his lady-love? Because he was weak and ill — so ill that he believed

is : « Sí, sí, pero... El caso es que este estudiante nos da la impresión de un botarate. »

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-9.

3. He recognises Don Alfonso at once, adds Azorín : « Del Marqués de Calatrava Viendo estoy la viva imagen. » But he has at that point in the play completely recovered from his illness, and is in full possession of his faculties.

himself and was believed to be dying, — so weak that the very mention by Don Carlos of the word « Calatrava » was sufficient to cause him to swoon away. All he cared about was to give a dying message, and he gave it (as any but the most scrupulously religious person would have done) to the man nearest and dearest to him, who was continually at hand. We have no particular reason to suppose Don Alvaro to have had such a religious upbringing as Doña Leonor : the probabilities are in fact quite the other way. Had the priest of Act III, Scene II (who might certainly have been expected to be present) appeared, the sick man might with full reason have been represented as refusing to see him.

Further questions the critic forces upon us. Why did D. Carlos not remain in the gaming-house to fight in III, II ? Why did Don Alvaro not refuse to fight with Don Carlos ? Why does the King not consider the exceptional nature of Don Alvaro's crime, and free him ? Why do D. Alfonso and D. Alvaro not arrange matters amicably between them ? (Why indeed !) Why in the last scene does Don Alvaro take his victim to the penitent for confession and not back to the convent ? Most needless question of all. Leaving apart possible questions of the working of the subconscious will, can one imagine a friar who has by fighting a duel implicitly cut himself off from the means of grace in general and the fellowship of his brethren in particular, repairing with his victim to his former home when an alternative is close at hand ? Very instinct would lead

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

3. Surely the « Subteniente's » reason is sufficiently good : « El rey Carlos es tan testarudo, y como éste es el primer caso que ocurre el mismo día que se ha publicado la ley... No hay esperanza. » The situation is not unlike that in *Measure for Measure*.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

him to the solitary. It is difficult, again, to believe with the critic that the Spanish officer of the eighteenth century — especially the young officer — was entirely incapable of the dishonourable play which Rivas attributes to Don Carlos' table-companions ¹.

One point brought up by the critic under this heading, however, needs more detailed treatment. We are told that Leonor's decision to leave Córdoba at the end of a year, and to take the place of the hermit of whom she has heard, is unnatural ². On the contrary, this decision is not only natural, but an excellent piece of psychology, of which more will be said shortly.

Let it be pointed out here that the girl, always of a highly-strung temperament ³, and obviously brought up in a religious atmosphere, has spent a year in strict seclusion, tortured by the death of her father, the loss of her lover, and ignorance of the latter's whereabouts : « Un año, ¡ay Dios! de suplicios, De largas meditaciones, De continuados peligros, De atroces remordimientos. De reflexiones conmigo ⁴. » Frequently at confession she has been told by a priest — no doubt as an incitement to penance, — of the woman who spent ten years as a solitary in prayer and meditation. What more natural than that she should nerve herself to take her place and feel the inspiration to be a call from God. The reason she gives for leaving her aunt ⁵ may

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 45-6. This, however, has been felt, not unnaturally, by Spanish critics, to have been a mistake. Cf. p. 421 above for an early criticism.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.

3. A reading of Act I, Scenes v-vii, is sufficient proof of this.

4. Act II, Scene vii.

5. ...« No puedo,
Sin ponerla en compromiso,
Abusar de sus bondades. »

or may not be a true one. It is certainly not more than one of the reasons which have passed through the girl's mind during the long and lonely self-conflicts leading up to her resolution. For such conflicts there must have been. Even if Leonor's own nature did not assure one of the fact, it is proved by the vehemence with which she asserts her unshakeable decision when the very man makes objections whom she would have expected to have supported her. Let the critic read through Act II, Scene VII, once more, and note the over-wrought Leonor's fervent reiteration of her vow :

PADRE GUARDIÁN

El padre Cleto me ha escrito
La resolución tremenda
Que al desierto os ha traído;
Pero no basta.

* *

¡Oh doña Leonor de Vargas!
¿Insistís?

* * *

Raras veces
Dios tan grandes sacrificios
Exige de los mortales...

¿Vuestra vocación es firme?...
¿Sois tan bienaventurada?

DOÑA LEONOR

Sí basta;
Es inmutable... lo fío,
Es inmutable...
Vengo resuelta, lo he dicho,
A sepultarme por siempre
En la tumba de estos riscos.

* *

... Sí padre, insisto.
Dios me manda...

* * *

Mi resolución es firme,
Mi voto inmutable y fijo,
Y no hay fuerza en este mundo
Que me saque de estos riscos.

Una voz hiere mi oído,
Voz del cielo, que me dice :
Aquí, aquí, y aquí respiro.
(*Se abraza con la cruz.*)
No, no habrá fuerzas humanas
Que me arranquen de este sitio.

Es inmutable, y cumplirla
La voz del cielo me manda.

How natural, again, that once her great fear is removed — viz, that the Reverend Father would refuse to countenance her resolve — the physical and mental reactions inevitably follow :

Mas mis hermanos...
O bandidos tal vez...

And, when her fears are calmed by the life-long habit of submission to religious re-assurances, only the former desire is left :

Bien : ¡oh Padre!
Pues que encontré donde esconderme pueda
A los ojos del mundo, conducidme;
Sin tardanza llevadme...

When we appreciate this magnificent scene with its exact psychology we wonder at Azorín's cold irony : « Este (expediente) absurdo, violentísimo, de marcharse a una montaña a vivir solitaria como un primitivo monje de la Tebaida. Y esto, ¡ella, la muchacha fina, delicada, sensitiva, cuidada y acariciada por un padre solícito ! » It is precisely from such stuff as this that the heroines of real life, called of God, are made.

Again, Azorín objects, on psychological grounds, to the suddenness with which Don Alvaro (IV, 1) passes from apparent friendliness to open hostility when Don Carlos puts to him the ostensibly harmless but really most significant question :

¿ Habéis recibido carta
De Don Alvaro el indiano ?

The critic remarks :

La acotación pone : *fuera de sí*. Nos sorprende esta transición tan repentina, tan brusca, tan incongruente... Nuestra opinión es

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

que del estado psicológico constituido por el cariño, por la intimidad, por la mutua efusión, durante cuarenta días, no se puede pasar, *repentinamente*, a ese otro estado que revelan ahora las exclamaciones de don Alvaro. No; debe de haber algo entre esas dos modalidades psicológicas; ese tránsito brusco es inverosímil, imposible ¹.

But is the change really so sudden, or so unnatural? The two have been together for a space of some six weeks, during which it is at least possible that Don Alvaro has noted an ill-concealed uneasiness in his friend's manner. Don Carlos would have been a skilful actor indeed, or Don Alvaro more unobservant than seems conceivable, if he had not. In any case, during the last few minutes, Don Carlos has been talking in riddles. To a simple question : « Shall I show you how fit and well I am? » his friend replies with unwonted vehemence. Immediately afterwards he continues : « You shall show me without further loss of time and we can fight on the spot! » Don Alvaro is now completely at sea. « I don't understand you », he says confusedly. « Have you no private enemies, with whom you can measure yourself? » « Private enemies! Who has not? But again I do not understand you. »

What did he not understand? The words — yes. But much more than the words, the manner — a flash of the eye, a menacing note in the voice, a suppressed emotion, all these pent up for six weeks, and at last thrusting themselves into the foreground of Don Alvaro's consciousness, where, for aught we know, they had been endeavouring to find a place all the time, but were repulsed out of very shame as often as they showed themselves. During the whole of this conversation the hero's sub-conscious mind had been searching for a reason. Once the name which for so long he had not heard sounded in his ears, the missing association-links

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

of the problem appeared almost instantaneously. There is, we may suppose, a pause — a pause long enough to give the audience time to realise fully what has happened. Surely in that time Don Alvaro may reasonably be supposed to have grasped these simple, if startling facts :

1. D. Carlos knows who I am.

2. Six weeks ago I gave him the opportunity of discovering my identity.

3. *Ergo* : he took the opportunity when I gave it him. It is bad logic — thoroughly unsound in its conclusion. But it is the first conclusion which would flash into the victim's mind, and it happens to be correct. The whole course of the scene appears to us perfectly sound psychologically.

Some of the incidents of the play, it is true, are less defensible. The presence of the Canon at the *aguaduco*¹ and of the Alcalde at the inn² are somewhat unlikely, or at least they seem so to the careful reader; though the former might be claimed as more natural in one who no doubt came from popular stock, and the latter might well be occasioned by the very religious pilgrimage which Azorín seems to think makes it improbable. In any case it may be doubted whether the *alcalde* would have been thought by Rivas essential to draw out the student³. And, absurdly as it reads, the anxiety of Tío Trabuco to sleep in the inn, with so much noise going on, can be made credible (and amusing) enough on the stage⁴.

The statement of the student (II, 1) that Leonor was *known* to have been killed in the affray is, as it stands, absurd, since, as Azorín says, her burial would have excited

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

3. As Rivas' critic thinks them to be : *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

tremendous interest. Even if by *supimos* is understood « we were told », the explanation is still insufficient : a brother informed of his sister's death would take steps at once to verify the fact, and its uncertainty, at least, must have become apparent.

One of the weakest points in the drama is the period of Don Alvaro's convalescence, of which Azorín with justice says that it reveals a certain psychological unsoundness¹. It is only fair to say that the portion of a tragedy which immediately follows the climax (and this in *Don Alvaro* is reached in Act III, Scene VIII) is always the hardest for the dramatist to construct. Naturally enough, the audience is waiting for the cure of the wounded man, foreshadowed in Act III, Scene IX, and for the events which are to lead to the catastrophe. Azorín puts as objections to the psychological situation: (1) that in the weeks in which Alvaro and Carlos had been constant companions Alvaro must have revealed something more to his friend and enemy of the motives which led him to give the fatal command ; (2) that as he gradually returned to health he must have noticed some sign, some trace of the terrible conflict which was taking place in Don Carlos' spirit. Undoubtedly the author was in a difficulty here. To have got over it satisfactorily would have meant an undue lengthening of the third or the fourth act : it is the eternal question of psychology *versus* movement which the Romantic can never satisfactorily solve. But is not the very suddenness of D. Alvaro's fury in Act IV, Scene I which has just been discussed, and to which Azorín also takes exception, a sign that he had suspected something in that time? It seems at least possible. A more unfortunate thing is that Rivas, after taking, as was only to be

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-5.

expected, the line of least resistance, vilifies the unfortunate Carlos immediately after he has been slain by his rival. Is the sympathy of the audience with Don Alvaro so weak or has the conduct of Don Carlos been so blameworthy as to merit such comments as these :

PEDRAZA

Muerto le deja de una estocada ahí detrás del cuartel.

* * *

OFICIAL

Me alegro, que era un botarate.

OFICIAL

Un insultante.

* * *

OFICIALES 1º y 4º

Era un charlatán, un fanfarrón ¹.

We have certainly not been prepared for this, and it is hardly uncritical to call it, with Azorín, « frankly absurd », even setting aside the impropriety of making officers and gentlemen speak thus of a comrade but newly fallen ².

In several points Azorín has convicted Rivas of negligences which are not remarkable if we reflect on the time at (and in) which the play was prepared and written. In others we have ventured to defend the dramatist's judgment.

1. *Don Alvaro*, Act IV, Scene II.

2. *Rivas y Larra*, p. 55. A friendly critic has suggested to me that these are the natural remarks of men anxious to stand well with a popular victor. That may no doubt have been the motive, but I cannot regard these lines as « natural ».

Let us, in conclusion, look at one final example of the critic's exacting demands.

He censures Rivas because the Canon does not go « al instante », as he intends, to warn the Marquis¹! Of course, the Canon may, in fact, have done so, and the Marquis have waited to catch Don Alvaro in his attempted act. Or one of a hundred causes may have detained a man of affairs from evening until close upon midnight. Or the Marquis may not have believed the warning to be adequately founded and may only have been taken to the scene by some new suspicion. It is not Rivas' business to make clear every detail, nor does the spectator demand that he should. Even were it a mortal dramatic sin to give coincidence a part in the working out of a plot, the primary test of coincidence is, as has been said, the recognition of it by the spectator or the reader, not the discovery of it by the student who has occupied himself with a careful examination and analysis of the play in order to convict it of the imperfections which he attributes to it. Similarly, to leave some happening vaguely referred to in a drama without exactly stating its place, time and relation with all the attendant events, is not merely no blemish on the drama — it may be, and generally is, a positive merit.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-1.

III

Sources of Don Alvaro. — Possible and probable influences. — Byron's *Lara* and *Manfred*. — *Les Ames du Purgatoire* : external and internal evidence for plagiarism : which work has precedence of time? — *Antony* : minor resemblances of plot, character and situation. — *Don Juan de Marana*.

Cueto, in his *Discurso necrológico*, speaks of the great fascination which Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas and Alfred de Vigny had for the Duque de Rivas ¹. Cañete ² and Alvarez Espino ³ write of that part of the poet's life which he spent at Malta as having been influenced chiefly by Shakespeare, Byron and Scott. Funes ⁴ thinks that the works of Milton, as well as of Byron and Shakespeare, took hold on him. If these judgments are true, we should expect to find in *Don Alvaro*, as well as in the *Moro Expósito*, the influence of some or all of these poets. Some influence of Shakespeare, and much, but of quite a general kind, of Victor Hugo, we have

1. « Llamábanse los apóstoles privilegiados Victor Hugo, Alejandro Dumas, Alfred de Vigny; y aun conservo cartas de nuestro poeta que prueban cuán fascinado se hallaba entonces por la novedad, por la fama, por el ingenio, por la extrañeza misma de aquellas obras singulares. »

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 323.

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.

noted in the preceding sections. It is possible that their effect on Rivas' art may have been even greater than we have conjectured. Of the other authors we have up to the present written little or nothing.

As to Byron, the critics have said in a general way that *Don Alvaro* shows the influence of *The Corsair*, *Don Juan* and *Lara*. Of the definite influence of the first two, we have failed to find a trace ; the three heroes have in common what Don Alvaro shares with all the typical Byronic heroes — nothing more. Conrad, no doubt, with his « lofty port » and « distant mien »¹ is more like to Don Alvaro than is the libertine Don Juan, of whom it need not be assumed that Rivas so much as dreamed when writing his play. But even Conrad could not have sat as a model.

No reader of Byron, however, but will be struck by the initial resemblances between Lara and Don Alvaro². Rivas' hero is not the mocking libertine nor the proud egotist of Byron's poem; he has led no such hurricane life, nor are their later adventures and ultimate fates comparable save in Lara's

vital scorn of all
As if the worst had fall'n which could befall³.

and Byron's final reflection :

Nor is his mortal slumber less profound
Though priest nor bless'd nor marble deck'd the mound⁴

1. Cf. *The Corsair*, VIII-XII, XVI.

2. *Lara* had been translated into Spanish in 1828 and into French in 1819. See P. H. Churchman : *The Beginnings of Byronism in Spain* (*Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXIII), p. 40, and E. Estève : *Byron et le romantisme français*, p. 527.

3. *Lara*, I, XVIII.

4. *Ibid.*, I, XXII.

But in the initial situation, the parallel is striking ; in each work there is a hero of « foreign aspect » and « high demeanour », completely « lord of himself », possessed of striking personal charm, and newly arrived in his native land after long years in a country of magic name. Each has a « chilling mystery of mien »¹ which causes speculation on his origin and past life to do its worst. Of Don Alvaro, in the opening act of the play, these lines might well have been written :

In him inexplicably mix'd appear'd
Much to be loved and hated, sought and fear'd;
Opinion varying o'er his hidden lot,
In praise or railing ne'er his name forgot :
His silence form'd a theme for others' prate —
They guess'd, they gazed, they fain would know his fate.
What had he been? what was he, thus unknown,
Who walk'd their world, his lineage only known²?

We may well believe that the Duque de Rivas had read either the French or the Spanish translations of *Lara* or the original, and had been directly influenced in his attempt to create a stranger, not only in Spain, but in the non-Romantic universe :

He stood a stranger in this breathing world,
An erring spirit from another hurl'd³.

And it might not be unduly cynical to write of Don Alvaro's creator, as we might equally well write of the Don Alvaro of the famous soliloquy :

He at last confounded good and ill,
And half mistook for fate the acts of will.

1. *Ibid.*, I, XIX.

2. *Ibid.*, I, XXVII.

3. *Ibid.*, I, XVIII.

While another point of view would be represented if we adopted as an epigraph for the drama a single line from *Lara* :

The hand that kindles cannot quench the flame ¹.

There is a further series of parallels with Byron which nobody seems as yet to have pointed out. Can anyone doubt that Rivas, in describing Don Alvaro's search for death, was influenced by Byron's *Manfred* ², roaming

With the fierce thirst of death — and still unslaked ³?

Manfred, like Alvaro, has courted death, but in vain :

I have affronted death — but in the war
Of elements the waters shrunk from me,
And fatal things pass'd harmless ⁴.

He stands at daybreak on the cliff watching the pines « on the torrent's brink beneath »; Alvaro at sunset on a « peñasco

1. *Ibid.*, II, XI.

2. Which had been translated into Spanish at least twice down to this date (1829 and 1830) and was to be translated again by José Alcalá Galiano. See Churchman, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-5. It had been translated into French in the same year as *Lara* (1819) and several times more before 1835 (see Estève, *op. cit.*, pp. 527-8).

3. *Ibid.*, II, I.

« Yo que buscándola voy,
No puedo encontrar con ella. » (III, III.)

and

« There is a power upon me which withholds,
And makes it my fatality to live. » (I, II.)

Cf.

« Pues busco ansioso el morir
Por no osar el resistir
De los astros el furor. » (III, III.)

4. *Manfred*.

accesible con dificultad », below him « un valle rodeado de riscos inaccesibles, y de malezas, atravesado por un arroyuelo ». The one throws himself down; the other is arrested in act to spring¹. Both Manfred in effect (II, II) and Alvaro (III, III) soliloquise on their past lives. Their reflections indeed are different, but the parallelism is notable.

DON ALVARO

From my youth upward
My spirit walk'd not with the
[souls of men,
Nor look'd upon the earth with
[human eyes;
The thirst of their ambition was
[not mine,
The aim of their existence was
[not mine;...
I said with men, and with the
[thoughts of men
I held but slight communion;
[but instead
My joy was in the wilderness...
[Yet there was one...
... I loved her, and destroy'd her
... I have shed
Blood but not hers, — and yet
[her blood was shed.]

Para engalanar mi frente,
Allá en la abrasada zona,
Con la espléndida corona
Del imperio de Occidente,
Amor y ambición ardiente
Me engendraron de concierto;
Pero con tal desacierto,
Con tan contraria fortuna,
Que una cárcel fué mi cuna,
Y fué mi escuela el desierto.

Entre bárbaros crecí,
Y en la edad de la razón...
[Cf. D. Alvaro's account of Leonor's supposed death in IV, 1.]
[And IV, v.

De sangre un río,
Que yo no derramé, serpenteaba
Entre los dos.]

And in many an apostrophe, many a turn of phrase, though no exact parallel may be found, we hear Don Alvaro speaking. Manfred invokes (I, 1) :

A power
Deeper than all yet urged, a tyrant-spell,

1. Cf. the respective apostrophes of *D. Alvaro*, V, xi, and *Manfred*, I, II.

Which had its birthplace in a star condemn'd,
The burning wreck of a demolish'd world
A wandering hell in the eternal space,

He says, as Don Alvaro might (II, 1) :

My injuries came down on those who loved me —
On those whom I best loved; I never quell'd
An enemy, save in my just defence —
But my embrace was fatal.

The recurrence of phrases like « the strong curse which is upon my soul », « the star which rules thy destiny » (I, 1), « fatal and fated in thy sufferings » (II, 11), recalls Alvaro's soliloquy. The First Destiny's speech

This man
Is of no common order... (II, iv.)

suggests what Rivas intended to convey through the person of his hero. The combination of general resemblances with definite parallels, in short, leaves us no choice but to think that the influence of *Manfred* was consciously strong upon Rivas as he wrote *Don Alvaro*.

Mérimée's *Ames du Purgatoire* was suggested as a source by the Marqués de Valmar¹, and later critics, using less positive language², have thought that it had some influence upon

1. « La coincidencia y estrecha analogía que se advierte entre muchos de los lances principales de su drama y los de una novela de Mr. Prosper Mérimée, *Les Ames du Purgatoire*, publicada en París más de un año antes de la representación del *Don Alvaro*, casi no dejan duda de que el Duque de Rivas recibió de la novela francesa el primer arranque y como el embrión de su obra dramática. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 559.)

2. Which is evidently quite out of place. Cueto seems to have no doubts whatever on the subject, whereas the best that can be said for his thesis is that it is a *possible* interpretation of the facts, and the use of the terms « el primer arranque » and « el embrión de su obra dramática » it is clearly impossible to justify.

the final form (being posterior to the original version) of the play. Juan Valera, on the other hand, not only denies this, but considers it likely that Mérimée was indebted to Rivas¹, since he had certainly seen the latter's play before his novel was published, though the publication took place before *Don Alvaro* was produced in Spanish in Madrid.

Cañete, anxious to save the memory of his friend from even a suspicion of plagiarism, goes into the question of the dates of the two works with the following results: *Les Ames du Purgatoire* was begun in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on August 15 1834, while *Don Alvaro* was first played on March 22 1835. But *Don Alvaro*, he asserts, was substantially finished (though not in its final form²) at Tours in 1832. We may on our own account go farther than this. One witness declares that Prosper Mérimée actually *translated* Rivas' play, and this before the end of 1833³, while another without going so far, says that Mérimée saw it after translation and interested himself in the question of its being produced in Paris⁴. The latter alternative is the more likely in view of the evidence, already quoted, of Antonio Alcalá Galiano's son. In any case, it seems pretty clear that Mérimée had at least as much opportunity as the Duke of using the other's work, and if the latter in the hasty re-handling of the play may have drawn upon or been unconsciously influenced by it, it is not less likely that the novelist, if he was giving the finishing touches to his book when the manus-

1. As Sr. Piñeyro remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 72, note) Valera's evidence is not altogether trustworthy: « No aduce más prueba que el haberlo oído decir repetidas veces sin advertir cómo ni dónde, y agregando sólo, en otro lugar, que creía recordar habérselo oído al mismo Duque y a Galiano. » (Cf. Valera, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-7.)

2. The original version of *D. Alvaro* appears not to be in existence.

3. See above, p. 66.

4. See above, p. 66.

cript of the play was in his hands, or when he had but recently returned it, was influenced in his turn.

The letter from Prosper Mérimée to the Marqués de Valmar, part of which the latter quotes in support of his assertions on the source of *Don Alvaro*¹, is not in reality of great importance. Whether or no Mérimée used the narrative which he mentions, he may have been influenced also by Rivas' dramatic version and Rivas may just as probably have drawn upon the same narrative independently or upon any one of the other works in which the *bofetada* is a prominent *motif*.

This is perhaps as far as we shall ever get with regard to what actually took place, unless the discovery of the first version of *Don Alvaro* should one day solve the mystery. If we look at the resemblances between the novel and the drama we shall be struck less by a number of minor resemblances, which might have been accidental, than by the similarities of situation at two points of the story. That Mérimée, having travelled in Spain, should have chosen a theme centring round Salamanca and Sevilla² is not in

1. The passage in question, dated from Cannes (Alpes-Maritimes) on Feb. 1 1866, runs thus : « Le duel du moine avec le frère de la femme séduite a été pris par moi dans de vieux mémoires. L'aventure a eu lieu en France, et, si je ne me trompe, dans l'enclos des Chartreux à Paris : c'est le Luxembourg actuel. Si j'étais à Paris je pourrais vous indiquer le nom du livre. »

(Cited by Cañete *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.)

2. Mérimée's narrative is not distinguished by its local colour, and the fact that in speaking of Sevilla he mentions the « porte de Triana » (cf. *D. Alvaro*, I, 1, stage directions at opening) is no more noteworthy than his reference to the Pilar when he is mentioning Zaragoza. Apart from this there are no similarities between the two works in this respect, and Salamanca and Sevilla might as well have been chosen for the setting of either story as any other two towns in different parts of Spain.

itself surprising. That Don García, his stage villain, should be a man of dreaded valour¹ and one concerning whose origin men speak darkly², that after the first catastrophe he should go with D. Juan to Italy and the wars, that D. Juan should become a monk as D. Alvaro did, that D^a Teresa's brother should roam the world in search of his father's murderer — none of these in itself need be more than a coincidence, and even their combined effect hardly proves a plagiarism. The suggestion is rather that of the scene in which D^a Fausta and her father are killed, and even more strongly of that final scene where D. Juan or Friar Ambrose kills his would-be murderer. If we think of the latter more particularly as the occasion of the definite and conscious influence it is not only because the former is embedded so deeply in the story but because the resemblance is less striking.

In this scene³ Mérimée gives us a double accident where Rivas gives a single one. Don Juan, incited by his unprincipled friend Don García, is making love to the latter's lady Doña Fausta when her father is summoned by her cries. We may continue in Mérimée's own words :

1. « Vous ne connaissez pas Don Garcia. Sachez donc que c'est un des hommes les plus... » Ici, l'étudiant baissa la voix et parut éprouver la crainte d'être entendu des autres étudiants. « Don Garcia est un homme terrible. Malheur à qui l'offense ! Il a la patience courte et l'épée longue ; et soyez sûr que, si quelqu'un s'assied à une place où don Garcia s'est assis deux fois, c'en est assez pour qu'une querelle s'ensuive, car il est fort chatouilleux et susceptible. Quand il querelle, il frappe, et quand il frappe, il tue. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 307.)

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 311 ff : « Don Garcia n'est-il pas le fils du seigneur Navarro?... Serait-il bâtard ? » « J'atteste le ciel que je n'ai rien dit de semblable... je voulais vous demander seulement si vous n'aviez pas connaissance d'une histoire étrange que bien des gens racontent sur ce don Garcia?... » But either this or the preceding quotation could probably be paralleled half a dozen times in Romantic authors.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 350-1.

Il laisse échapper une exclamation de surprise, et une détonation suit aussitôt. La lampe s'éteignit, et don Juan sentit que les mains de doña Fausta se desserraient, et que quelque chose de chaud et de liquide coulait sur les siennes. Elle tomba ou plutôt glissa sur le plancher, la balle venait de lui fracasser l'épine du dos : son père l'avait tuée au lieu de son ravisseur.

The father then attacks Don Juan :

Il se précipita sur don Juan sans hésiter : celui-ci para quelques bottes, et sans doute il n'avait d'abord que l'intention de se défendre; mais l'habitude de l'escrime fait qu'une riposte, après une parade, n'est plus qu'un mouvement machinal et presque involontaire. Au bout d'un instant le père de doña Fausta poussa un grand soupir et tomba mortellement blessé.

That Don Juan makes good his escape and that the second daughter after her double bereavement takes the veil, and at the end of the story dies, makes the resemblance to *Don Alvaro* more marked, but not so great as to take away all possible hypotheses but that of direct influence. The similarity between the other two scenes, however, can hardly be accounted for but by such a supposition. The relevant quotations may conveniently be placed together for comparison¹:

Les Ames du Purgatoire, pp. 394 ff.

Il leva les yeux et aperçut debout, devant lui, un grand jeune homme couvert d'un manteau qui tombait jusqu'à terre et la figure à demi cachée par

Don Alvaro, Act V, scene VI, VIII.

(*Don Alvaro y Don Alfonso que entra sin desembozarse...*)

DON ALFONSO

¿Me conocéis?

1. The quotations from each work follow roughly the course of the narrative, though here and there slight transpositions have been made. There has been no attempt to pick phrases from entirely different parts of the narratives and place them together; if this were done the similarities would be increased, but not to such an extent as to make the total effect more striking, while on the other hand the really notable contrasts would be obscured.

un chapeau ombragé d'une plume blanche et noire... Ils se regardaient fixement tous les deux pendant quelques minutes. Enfin l'inconnu, avançant d'un pas et relevant son chapeau pour montrer ses traits, lui dit :

« Me reconnaissez-vous? »

Don Juan le considéra avec plus d'attention, mais ne le reconnut pas...

Je me nomme don Pedro de Ojeda; je suis le fils de don Alfonso de Ojeda, que vous avez tué; je suis le frère de doña Fausta de Ojeda que vous avez tuée; je suis le frère de doña Teresa de Ojeda que vous avez tuée.

(Cf. Don Pedro's reason for not assassinating Don Juan, as explained by the author on p. 399).

« Je porte sur moi quelque chose de plus efficace que des malédictions. »

A ces mots, il jeta son manteau et montra qu'il tenait deux longues rapières de combat. Il les tira du fourreau et les planta en terre toutes les deux.

« Choisissez, don Juan, dit-il. On dit que vous êtes un grand spadassin, je me pique d'être adroit à l'escrime. Voyons ce que vous savez faire. »

« Mon frère », dit don Juan en s'agenouillant devant lui,

DON ALVARO

No, señor.

DON ALFONSO

...¿Tembláis y bajáis los ojos?
Alzadlos, pues, y miradme.

(*Descubriéndose el rostro y mostrándoselo.*)

DON ALFONSO

Basta, que está dicho todo.
De mi hermano y de mi padre
Me está pidiendo venganza
En altas voces la sangre.

Fuera el mataros inerme
Indigno de mi linaje.
Fuiste valiente, robusto
Aún estáis para un combate;
Armas no tenéis, lo veo;
Yo dos espadas iguales
Traigo conmigo : son éstas.
(*Se desemboza y saca dos espadas.*)
Elegid la que os agrade.

DON ALVARO

... Este sayal que me viste,
Esta celda miserable

« je suis un misérable couvert de crimes. C'est pour les expier que je porte cet habit et que j'ai renoncé au monde. S'il est quelque moyen d'obtenir de vous mon pardon, indiquez-le-moi... »

« Laissons là l'hypocrisie, seigneur de Maraña; je ne pardonne pas. »

« Mon frère, vous oubliez les vœux que j'ai prononcés. Je ne suis plus le don Juan que vous avez connu, je suis le frère Ambroise. »

« Lâche hypocrite! me crois-tu ta dupe? Si je voulais te tuer comme un chien enragé, me serais-je donné la peine d'apporter ces armes? Allons, choisis promptement et défends ta vie. »

« ... On m'avait dit que tu avais du courage. Je vois que tu n'es qu'un vil poltron!

« Du courage, mon frère? Je demande à Dieu qu'il m'en donne pour ne pas m'abandonner au désespoir où me jetterait, sans son secours, le souvenir de mes crimes. Adieu, mon frère; je me retire... »

Don Juan se remit devant lui à genoux.

Desengaños os presentan
Para calmaros bastantes...
Aquí de mis muchas culpas
Que son ¡ay de mi! harto grandes
Pido a Dios misericordia;
Que la consiga dejadme...

DON ALFONSO

... Pues esta celda, el desierto,
Ese sayo, esa capucha,
Ni a un vil hipócrita guardan
Ni a un cobarde infame escudan.

DON ALVARO

Antes, como caballero,
Supe vengar las injurias;
Hoy, humilde religioso,
Darles perdón y disculpa.
¡Sí, hermano, hermano!...

DON ALFONSO

(*Resuelto.*)

De estas dos espadas, una
Tomad, don Alvaro, luego;
Tomad, que en vano procura
Vuestra infame cobardía
Darle treguas a mi furia
Tomad...

DON ALVARO

(*Retirándose.*)

No, que aun fortaleza
Para resistir la lucha
De las mundanas pasiones
Me da Dios con bondad suma.

(*Arrodillase.*)

Prosternado a vuestras plantas
Vedme...

« Seigneur Pedro de Ojeda », s'écria don Juan, « tuez-moi si vous le voulez, je ne me battrai pas! » Et il croisait les bras, regardant fixement don Pedro d'un air calme, quoique assez fier,

« Oui, je te tuerai, misérable! mais avant je te traiterai comme un lâche que tu es. »

Et il lui donna un soufflet, le premier que don Juan eût jamais reçu. Le visage de don Juan devint d'un rouge pourpre. La fierté et la fureur de sa jeunesse rentrèrent dans son âme.

DON ALVARO
(*Reportándose.*)

No... no triunfa
Tampoco con esta industria
De mi constancia el infierno.
Retiraos, señor.

DON ALFONSO
(*Furioso.*)

¿Te burlas
De mí, inicuo? Pues cobarde
Combatir conmigo excusas,
No excusarás mi venganza.
Me basta la afrenta tuya :
Toma. (*Le da una bofetada.*)

DON ALVARO
(*Furioso y recobrando toda su energía.*)

¿Qué hiciste?...
¡Insensato!!!

DON ALFONSO
Pues no perdamos más tiempo,
Y que las espadas hablen.

(*Combaten y cae herido don Alfonso.*)

DON ALVARO
(*Suelta la espada y queda como petrificado.*)

Yo no soy más que un réprobo,
¡presa infeliz del demonio!... Es-
toy manchado de sangre, estoy
irregular... Yo que he roto
todos los vínculos, que he hol-
lado todas las obligaciones...

L'épée... de don Juan s'enfonça jusqu'à la garde dans la poitrine de son adversaire. Don Pedro expira sur-le-champ. Don Juan, voyant son ennemi étendu à ses pieds, demeura quelque temps immobile à le contempler d'un air stupide. Peu à peu, il revint à lui et reconnut la grandeur de son nouveau crime.

It is hardly conceivable that one of these scenes should have been written without any reference to the other, and less conceivable still if we add the external evidence in favour of direct influence to that afforded by a comparison of the passages. That there are many differences between the two is due to several causes : the different requirements of novel and drama ¹; the difference between the characters and the crimes of the two heroes ²; the difference between the tone of the story and that of the drama ³; and the differences between the plot of the one and of the other ⁴.

But when we have made these allowances, one striking

1. *E. g.*, the absence of the descriptive element in drama makes it necessary to suggest by the actor's words what in a novel can be actually stated ; the rhetorical question and the apostrophe will be found to be more frequent in the play-scene than in the story-scene; the change of scene from V, VI, to V, VIII is also necessary to produce the final effect which makes so terrible a culmination in *Don Alvaro*.

2. Don Juan is not only a vastly more culpable character than Don Alvaro, but he is also more self-conscious both in regard to his sins and his atonement for them. (« Le souvenir de sa vie passée était toujours présent à sa mémoire, mais ses remords étaient déjà tempérés par la satisfaction de conscience que lui donnait son changement. ») This character, as objectionable in his virtues as in his vices, is not made to waver in his refusal to fight, as the more human Don Alvaro does, and it is largely to the inward convulsions in the hero's mind that this scene, like certain earlier scenes, owes its effect.

3. The story is after all a calm and pleasantly told narrative, and the scene in question does not end in Don Juan's death, whereas the corresponding scene in the drama is the catastrophe which concludes an action carefully worked up to produce effects of terror and enhanced by the surroundings of the drama.

4. In the drama the accusations of Don Alfonso addressed to Don Alvaro are based upon characteristics which in the story do not occur : the innocence of Don Alvaro with respect to Doña Leonor and his disputed ancestry.

variation still remains : the very much greater length of the scenes in *Don Alvaro* than of the scene in *Les Ames du Purgatoire*. Omitting from the latter, on the one hand, long passages of pure description (but reckoning interpolated descriptive phrases, though these are longer than the stage directions of the play) and from the former, on the other hand, the whole of the dispute about Don Alvaro's parentage in Scene VIII, we may say that the scenes in *Don Alvaro* are of about two and a half times the length of the passage in *Les Ames du Purgatoire*. Let it be noted that Don Juan practically confines his protests to begging Don Pedro to take his life, and when the latter refuses (for the reason which Hamlet alleges for sparing the King at his prayers) he merely endeavours to escape. Don Alvaro spends much time in describing the state of his mind, and the change which has come over his life since he entered the monastery, while Don Alfonso describes his quest of his enemy, and recalls himself to his rival's remembrance more gradually. Further Don Alvaro all but yields continually to his passion, while Don Juan never wavers in his one affirmation : « Je ne puis combattre, mais je puis mourir. »

This does not of course give us any certain proof which of the two narratives was the earlier. It merely puts the question before the reader in another form. Did Rivas, having already written a different conclusion to his drama two months earlier, refashion it with the memory of Mérimée's scene in his mind, and enlarge that version to suit the events of his own drama? Or did Mérimée, after reading (and perhaps translating) *Don Alvaro*, turn to his own unfinished story and write a conclusion in which, consciously or unconsciously, he followed the play? To the writer the latter seems the more probable explanation, not only from internal evidence, but principally because Rivas had already written a version of his drama, while the story may not have been

written. But a third explanation is perhaps more probable still : that the two authors each read the other's work in some form, and later, when retouching their own (we know that Rivas at least rewrote his) were influenced by memories of the discussion.

By some such solution as this it is more than likely that the similarity must be explained.

Azorín, in *Rivas y Larra*¹, remarks on the resemblances between *Don Alvaro* and Dumas père's *Antony*, which was played for the first time on May 3 1831.

Without defining in detail the nature of the influence of the one author on the other which he alleges, he thinks that the resemblances cannot be accidental. « Dumas créó un tipo; Antony fué un tipo que se esparció por el ambiente. » « El tipo de Antony, embellecido, españolizado, ha obsesionado a Saavedra durante toda su vida. Surge en todas sus obras. » Apart from the central figures, Azorín sees resemblances in chance phrases which may be quoted with some others which he does not give² :

ANTONY

Ah! c'est que le hasard semble, jusqu'à présent, avoir seul régi ma destinée... Si vous saviez combien les événements les plus importants de ma vie ont eu des causes futiles! (II, III.)

* Si vous ne la nommez pas hasard, comment donc appellerez-vous cette suite d'infiniment petits événements qui, réunis, composent une vie de douleur ou de joie, et qui, isolés, ne valent ni une larme ni un sourire? (II, III.)

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 100-2. He is endorsing the opinion expressed in a current text-book (E. Mérimée : *Précis d'histoire de la littérature espagnole*), which, after speaking of *Don Alvaro* as the *Hernani* of Spain, adds : « Au fond, il rappelle beaucoup plus l'*Antony* d'A. Dumas, représenté le 3 mai 1831. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 425.)

2. Those quoted by Azorín are marked with an asterisk.

* N'ayant point un monde à moi, j'ai été obligé de m'en créer un; il me faut, à moi, d'autres douleurs, d'autres plaisirs, et peut-être d'autres crimes. (II, III.)

ADÈLE

*Oh! je comprends maintenant tout ce qui m'était demeuré obscur... votre caractère sombre, que je croyais fantasque... tout, tout. (II, v.)

ANTONY

Je fus heureux... quelques jours... les seuls de ma vie! (II, v.)

ADÈLE

*Mon Dieu! qu'est-ce que c'est donc que cette fatalité à laquelle vous permettez d'étendre le bras au milieu du monde? (V, II.)

ANTONY

Nous vivrons isolés, tu seras mon bien, mon Dieu, ma vie. (V, III.)

ANTONY

Tu veux mourir? Eh bien, écoute, moi aussi, je le veux... Béni soit Dieu qui m'a fait une vie isolée que je puis quitter sans coûter une larme à des yeux aimés. (That is surely Padre Rafaël speaking.) Un seul lien m'attachait à ce monde : il se brise... Et moi aussi, je veux mourir!... mais avec toi. (V, III.)

There are resemblances, but few, in situation. « Antony n'était ni léger ni indifférent », says Adèle, as Leonor might have said at Córdoba : « Il m'aimait autant qu'un cœur profond et fier peut aimer; et, s'il est parti, c'est qu'il y avait sans doute, pour qu'il restât, des obstacles qu'une volonté humaine ne pouvait surmonter. » (I, II.) Antony's plans as he endeavours to win Adèle to his side (« Écoute, je suis libre, moi... » *Antony*, V, III) suggest Don Alvaro's assurances to the hesitating Leonor (*Don Alvaro*, I, VII), and, more remotely, Curra's optimistic picture (*Don Alvaro*, I, VI). As the tragedy hastens to its close we see its lines converging with those of *Don Alvaro*, and, at the consummation, if Adèle is killed by her lover and not by a brother, the effect

upon the spectator is not dissimilar. When the curtain falls, the reminiscent may again recognise in Antony's gesture a touch of Don Alvaro, vanquished, before the Marquis.

ANTONY

Oui! morte! Elle me résistait, je l'ai assassinée!

(*Il jette son poignard aux pieds du Colonel.*)

(V, iv.)

Between the central figures there are also points, though minor points, of similarity. We have in Antony a man of power, as of passion, full of generous impulses, « born for any rank », dominated by one overwhelming affection, which is all but as cordially returned. Above all we have a man whose birth and antecedents are unknown, — a man of mystery.

Lorsque vous entendiez autrefois prononcer le nom d'Antony, he says to Adèle,

ce nom isolé d'Antony n'éveillait-il pas pour celui qui le portait une idée d'isolement? ne vous êtes-vous point dit quelquefois que ce ne pouvait être le nom de mon père, celui de ma famille? N'avez-vous pas désiré savoir quelle était ma famille, quel était mon père? Vous êtes-vous demandé pourquoi, seul, au milieu de tous, je n'avais ni rang qui me dispensât d'un état, ni état qui me dispensât d'un rang? (II, iii).

Il avait une mère, lui! he bursts out on another occasion.

Les autres hommes, du moins, lorsqu'un événement brise leurs espérances, ils ont un frère, un père, une mère... Moi! moi! je n'ai pas même la pierre d'un tombeau où je puisse lire un nom et pleurer... Je n'ai point de famille, je n'ai point de patrie, tout pour moi était dans un nom; ce nom, c'était le vôtre. (II, v.)

All this is suggestive enough, but not more so than a comparison with fifty other plays, and as many novels and poems of the epoch. Antony is one presentation of the Romantic

hero : Don Alvaro is related to him ¹. The two plays as wholes are related likewise. « Como la mayor parte de las obras de la literatura moderna francesa », said Larra of *Antony*, which he attacked in two articles written some five years after its appearance, « es el grito que lanza la humanidad que nos lleva delantera, grito de desesperación, al encontrar el caos y la nada al fin del viaje ². » So far he might have been speaking of Don Alvaro. But when we pursue his not unjust criticism we realise that that is where the resemblance stops. We are as it were in another age, another moral world, another social *milieu*, when we step from Dumas to Rivas. It would be impossible to deny dogmatically that the former can have influenced the latter : it would be absurd to assume it or even to infer it from the data gleaned in a comparative study.

Between another of Dumas *père's* plays and *Don Alvaro* there are slight similarities which may or may not betoken the indebtedness of one to the other. This play is *Don Juan de Marana*, a « mystère » in five acts and seven tableaux which almost certainly is based upon *Les Ames du Purgatoire* ³. It was first played at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin on April 30 1836, so that *Don Alvaro* may very well have been written before it. In any case the resemblances are not conclusive, and the similarities are suggested rather by the undercurrent of fatalism, the convent scenes, the resemblance in type of each hero to the other, and the few, faint glimpses of Seville in Dumas' play. That Don Juan's father should have studied at the University of Salamanca,

1. Cf. *Obras de Figaro* (ed. Garnier, Vol. III, pp. 108-110), for a study of *Antony* which will make the differences clear.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

3. Cf. E. Martinenche : *L'Espagne et le Romantisme français*, Paris. 1922. pp. 175 ff.

and afterwards have fought in the Italian wars is scarcely more remarkable than that he should have been of a quick and passionate temper ¹. More definite resemblances between the two plays occur when D. Josès challenges his half-brother D. Juan to a duel, in which he is eventually killed (IV, iv). D. Juan's unwillingness to fight and anxiety to go ², D. Josès' offer of a sword ³, his insults ⁴, D. Juan's invocation of God ⁵, their talk of repentance and damna-

1 . *Don Juan de Marana*, I, iv.

2. DON JUAN

Frère, je te demande pardon à genoux, les yeux en larmes... le front dans la poudre...

DON JOSÈS

Prends une de ces épées.

DON JUAN

Adieu, frère.

DON JOSÈS

Où vas-tu?

DON JUAN

Laisse-moi aller.

3. DON JOSÈS

Voilà deux épées... choisis... Voilà deux épées, te dis-je! voilà une tombe prête. A la vie!

4. DON JOSÈS

C'est cela... et parce que lassé de vices, repu de débauches, gorgé de sang, il te plaît de venir demander asile à un cloître, tu crois fuir le châtement?

5. DON JUAN

Seigneur, donnez-moi l'humilité... Seigneur, donnez-moi la patience.

tion ¹, D. Josès' final blow ² — all these are conventional enough in themselves, but all have parallels in *Don Alvaro*. Finally, the catastrophe has a distinct suggestion of *Don Alvaro*, but whether or no it is anything more than a Romantic coincidence the reader must judge. The concluding lines run thus ³ :

DON JUAN (*blessé*).

Enfer! (*Sandoval disparaît*) Disparu! et moi, blessé! (*Il chancelle.*) Blessé à mort! Marthe! Marthe! ah! malédiction!

LE MAUVAIS ANGE (*à gauche*).

Vengeance!

LE BON ANGE (*à droite*).

Miséricorde!

L'ANGE DU JUGEMENT (*descendant du ciel*).

Justice!

I. DON JOSÈS

Ton repentir rendra-t-il l'honneur et la vie à ma fiancée?... rendra-t-il la vie à mon épouse? Que m'importe ton repentir, à moi...?

DON JUAN

Tu me feras perdre mon âme.

2. DON JOSÈS (*le frappant du plat de son épée*).

Tiens.

DON JUAN (*s'élançant sur son épée*).

Ah!

DON JOSÈS

Enfin!

3. V, IV.

IV

Characterisation. — The characters essentially Spanish : examples.
— Minor personages. — The Marquis and his two sons. — Doña Leonor. — Last words on Don Alvaro.
Conclusion. — The neglect and revival of *Don Alvaro*.

So much has been said in other connections of the characterisation of *Don Alvaro* that it is necessary to add but little. One is chiefly struck by its diversity : the result of the combined use of the Romantic elements of contrast and local colour. Thus it is that « las santas plegarias de los fieles », as Ochoa says, « suben al trono de Dios entre blasfemias y gritos de rabia y desesperación; en ella se ve desde el carácter más ideal, desde la creación más fantástica, hasta el rústico arriero sevillano, hasta el fogón y los cacharros de las posadas andaluzas ¹ ».

Like the scenes, the characters are essentially Spanish. The minor personages are all well-known types, and sometimes they are types skilfully individualised. We think of the canon — a son of the soil, no doubt, and a democrat to the backbone — who mixes with the little company at the Puente de Triana, « que es lo mejor del mundo ² ». There

1. *Artista*, 1836, No. 15, reprinted in *Juicio Crítico*, etc., 1840, p. 168.

2. *Don Alvaro*, I, II.

is the officer who has seen the world and rather looks down upon the circumscribed Sevillian : « Fuera de Sevilla nacen también caballeros. » There are the rustics with their native wit or stupidity, from the Hermano Melitón to Tío Paco at the *aguaducho* who mixes up « finca » and « Inca », and old Tío Trabuco in the inn whose only idea is to go to sleep. The sharp tongue of Fray Melitón, his rough wit, his surliness, his independence and those other human failings which need more than a cowl to hide them, in no way contradict the life of piety and service which he professes. His part is the more exaggerated because he is needed dramatically to relieve the emotions, but he is none the less a faithful picture of many a lay brother for all that.

The characters in a higher rank, too, — Leonor, her brothers and her father — are Spanish to the backbone, though they are none too clearly nor consistently outlined for us, lest there should be a risk of their masking Don Alvaro. The Marquis appears but twice; the first time his fatherly tenderness¹ all but overcomes Leonor and unnerves her for the part she is to play; the second time he is by far the most dignified figure in a sorry scene. Nothing in his life could have become him like the leaving it. He is the *hidalgo* in type and in essence : what French or English father when his daughter's lover knelt to him at such a moment could have preserved the same impassive pride :

Tu actitud suplicante manifiesta lo bajo de tu condición².

1. Cf. the one glimpse we get of his late wife — through the spectacles of the talkative Curra :

Más vana que Señor era;
Señor al cabo es un ángel
¡Pero ella!... Un genio tenía
Y un copete... Dios nos guarde. (I, VI.)

2. *Don Alvaro*, I, VIII.

That is all. He will not touch him, far less kill him — his servants shall do what is necessary.

Much of his father's pride has Don Alfonso — he who has also his father's features. The father curses his daughter as he dies; the son stabs her to death and dies at the same moment. It has already been pointed out that Don Alvaro kneels to the father and to that son alike. And Alfonso's greeting to him emphasises this :

DON ALFONSO

¿No veis en mis ademanes
Rasgo alguno que os recuerde
De otro tiempo y de otros males ?...

Don Carlos we see from another angle. We think of him, not as Rivas describes him so ungenerously, — overreaching himself in the attempt to aggrandise his hero ², — but as the headstrong boy whose rashness lands him in difficulties, the generous friend who watches by his rescuer's bedside, above all, perhaps, as the very human character who masters an impulse of burning curiosity which would have shattered his honour, and learns by relatively fair means ³ what he was tempted to learn by foul. In the second scene of the play he is described in far higher terms than his brother. He is « uno de los oficiales más valientes del regimiento de Guardias Españolas », — D. Alfonso, « el coco de la Universidad,

1. *Ibid.*, V, vi.

2. The reason for the strangely unsympathetic presentation of Don Carlos is presumably that otherwise Don Alvaro would not have been forgiven by the dead brother's fellow-soldiers.

3. For though he protests at length about his honour, he does search his sick friend's trunk after having done what was asked of him, and his opening the case containing Leonor's picture is hardly excused (as he seems to think it is) by the fact that the case has no seal.

más espadachín que estudiante, y que tiene metidos en un puño a los matones sopistas¹ ». Both sons, however, as judged by their deeds, are in the main worthy gentlemen.

Doña Leonor has already been considered in some detail. Neurotic and excitable as she is, she proves herself nevertheless a girl of no small resolution, determination and energy. At first sight she, with Don Carlos, seems more unlike her father than is Don Alfonso. But in the scene with the Prior already described², her strength of will, and her religious upbringing, are hardly more noticeable than the pride which forbids her to enter a convent, and which desires isolation above all things.

¡Oh! no, Dios mío,
Aunque me encuentro inocente,
No puedo, tiemblo al decirlo,
Vivir sino donde nadie
Viva y converse conmigo.
Mi desgracia en toda España
Suenan de modo distinto,
Y una alusión, una seña,
Una mirada, suplicios
Pudieran ser que me hundieran
Del despecho en el abismo.
No, jamás... Aquí, aquí, sólo³.

It is perhaps not too fanciful to hear the Marquis speaking in his daughter here, as in the actions, if not the words, of both his courageous sons.

Leonor suffers more than any other character in the play through being subordinated to the hero. In the main she does not interest except in so far as she helps to mould

1. I, II.

2. See above, pp. 435 ff.

3. *Don Alvaro*, II, VII.

his fate. Of Don Alvaro himself we need add but a word. He is no merely Spanish figure. « Ardiente y generoso, arrebatado y juicioso, desventurado y criminal, simpático y terrible, se nos presenta como un tipo universal y eterno, adaptable a todos tiempos y lugares, porque es sin duda la más perfecta encarnación de los principios artísticos y de las leyes perdurables de la belleza ¹. » He is « torero, advenedizo, príncipe, mulato, capitán de granaderos, recluso, duelista, matador, héroe, ángel de exterminio y suicida ² ». It is impossible to take such a character seriously, as a study in human nature. Intended for a superman, he is often a contradiction in terms. Nevertheless he is at times a mortal man, and those moments are the truest of the play.

Whatever was the success of *Don Alvaro* in Madrid, it certainly captured the principal provincial centres. As we turn the pages of the periodicals of the provinces to-day it may seem that the play took a long time to penetrate Spain. But in reality it won recognition as quickly as any other, with the possible exception of *El Trovador*, and having won it, retained it for an unusually long time. The details already given ³ concerning its popularity in Valencia might be amplified to include Barcelona, Sevilla and various other cities. And again and again one may read of its revival for short periods in Madrid.

By about the middle of the nineteenth century, however, *Don Alvaro* was in danger of being forgotten. Gavino Tejado's six-thousand-words article on Rivas in the *Siglo Pintoresco* for 1845 only mentions it once by name and gives no account of it at all. With something of a shock we read

1. Alvarez Espino, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

2. Funes, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

3. See p. 72 above.

in Martínez Villergas' chapter on Rivas ¹. « Una de sus primeras obras fué el famoso drama *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino*, composición que nadie recuerda hoy, y que en aquellos tiempos no hubiera el autor cambiado por muchas de las mejores obras del teatro antiguo. » Martínez Villergas was notoriously uncritical in his invective, and an amusing comment on his statement is furnished by two articles in the *Revista española de ambos mundos* of that very year, — one by Juan Valera (pp. 610-630), speaking of *Don Alvaro* as an « admirable drama », the other by Gerónimo Borao (pp. 801-842), which, if it calls the play « resumen de los extravíos, no de los principios del romanticismo », gives it nevertheless its proper chronological place of importance at the head of the movement in Spain. But undoubtedly in the reaction from romanticism *Don Alvaro* suffered neglect. For the author's son writes in 1890 that fifteen years or so before the play was « all but forgotten » : « estaba casi olvidada... alguna vez lo había representado Vico ² » — not a worthy fate for the play which had been hailed as bringing Romantic drama into Spain!

It was about the year 1880 that the drama began to come once more into its own. At a time when it was still lying half-forgotten, and never played ³, Rafael Calvo, the well-

1. In *Juicio crítico de los poetas españoles contemporáneos* by Juan Martínez Villergas (Paris, 1854), pp. 167-170. It is but a slight study. The author puts the Duke at the head of the « second class » of poets. « Hombre de poca imaginación », he can even write, « pero inspirado alguna vez al pulsar las cuerdas de la lira oriental, carece del suficiente vuelo para alcanzar un lugar entre los grandes poetas. »

2. Rivas : *Obras*, ed. 1894, I, 150.

3. That is speaking approximately, and of evidence that I can discover. Zorrilla, however (*Recuerdos del tiempo viejo*, Vol. I, p. 130) says of it : « Está todavía en pie sobre la escena, en que hace cuarenta años apareció », which does not suggest almost complete oblivion

known actor, conceived the idea of reviving it. On studying the piece, he was not slow to see its merits, and particularly the possibilities of the protagonist's *rôle*, and it was given — without cuts or alterations — at the Teatro Español on Dec. 27 1878. His success was complete, for it was more than a generation since the drama had passed from the stage, and to the spectators it was all but new. The performance was repeated again and again until hardly a more popular play was current in the country. Nor, thanks in part to Ricardo Calvo, has this popularity died away entirely now, though the revival is as far off to-day as the original performance was then.

and sudden revival, but rather steady popularity. Mesonero, too, writing in 1883 *Memorias de un Setentón* (Vol. II, p. 146) speaks of the play's great qualities, « que cada día fueron apareciendo mayores, hasta ser considerado hoy como una de las primeras joyas de nuestro teatro moderno ». And this is more valuable testimony still, for Mesonero had both an impartial mind and a very long memory!

CHAPTER V

The Later Romanticism of the Duque de Rivas : Later lyrics and Verse Romances.

The literary transformation of Angel de Saavedra into the protagonist of Spanish Romanticism was all but complete when the death of his brother transformed him into a peer of the realm and determined very largely his future life. The first draft of *Don Alvaro* had been written; the *Moro Expósito*, a few short romances, and the best of the lyrics, were already published. Rivas had won for himself unquestioned primacy at that time as a Romantic dramatist and as a Romantic narrative poet; and if his lyrics as a whole were less noteworthy, one or two of them were among the best which had appeared since the new school began to be spoken of. Now, in the fulness of his powers and with a reputation already made, Angel de Saavedra was back once more in Spain as the Duque de Rivas. His politics were to change : the fiery young liberal was to shine among the moderate conservatives. How would his writing fare? Would he better his own triumphs or would he retire upon the proceeds of his audacities and eventually contrive to forget them?

What actually happened is easy enough to predict when one knows, though his admirers must have watched his evolution with mingled surprise and expectancy, satisfaction and regret. Rivas was never pre-eminently a lyric poet,

even if his early experiences often moved him to genuine poetry. Nor, in spite of his *Don Alvaro*, was he first and foremost a writer of dramas. So, when the literary influences which had produced the one and the experiences which had inspired the other were removed, he went back to the conventions most proper in one of his high rank and station. Why should we be surprised if in the circumstances he suffered from the reaction in drama, and rebounded, as it were, in the direction of such of his old plays as *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* and *Lanuza*? After all, there was little about drama in that famous Prologue which he had sponsored, and, if there had been much, a grandee of Spain might with propriety forget the parts he was about implicitly to contradict.

But with narrative poetry it was different. The Duque de Rivas was as much a narrative poet as Angel de Saavedra had been. The Prologue to the *Moro Expósito* would bear him out that what was best in the new movement was the resuscitation of Old Spain. In the verse « romance », long or short, he found much that suited his tastes and talents, many qualities to which his peculiar gifts added charm. In this kind, then, he continued and prospered, and grew greater than ever before. And since there was in this kind one of the firmest roots of Spanish Romanticism, it is the strict truth to say that the Duque de Rivas remained all his life a leading Romantic.

I

Later lyrics and prose sketches. — Sevillian and Neapolitan verses. — Rivas as a poet of disillusion. — Prose sketches of 1838-9. Neapolitan sketches. — Reminiscences of *Don Alvaro*.

The lyric poetry written after 1835 is small in bulk and insignificant in quality. Much of it consists of complimentary lines (written in ladies' albums, or to celebrate special occasions), and epistolary verse — an old vice of Rivas' — mainly addressed to the Marqués de Valmar. The former kind smacks somewhat of the early odes : the poems in question are stilted, often pompous; they have but little of the inspiration of the romances of the same period, and very rarely show any signs of their author's peculiar gifts of imagination. They bear all the marks of poems written to order. Juan Valera, who thought more highly of the early lyrics of Saavedra the exile, felt very keenly the contrast between these and the later poems, which were written as it were, — he said — by one who dressed in official uniform before sounding the chords of the lyre ¹. He went on to instance the two poems *La Lamentación* and *La Asonada*, both dated 1840, and to remark very justly that even their themes are scarcely poetical, so that they resemble declamatory articles in rime ².

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

Of the verse epistles written from Naples in tercets ¹ (probably only a selection from a much larger number ²) the best that can be said is that they are graceful at times, and interesting as letters if not as poetry. At their worst they are intolerably prosaic :

Sólo puede, perdóname, explicarse
Por falta completísima de seso,
Y como tal, con pena lamentarse ³.

Or

Ni me ofendas, creyéndote que ayuno
Ibas andar así de Ceca en Meca,
Pues me cuido y me mimo cual ninguno;
Y llevo siempre bollos de manteca,
Un pâté de foie gras, Jerez, Champaña,
Jamón, pavo trufado y fruta seca ⁴...

If it be objected that verses like this, obviously intimate in character, should not be made the subject of criticism, the retort comes at once : they should not be printed in what is a collection, not of complete, but of the selected works of a great author. Their secret is to be found in the note appended to the first of them in the 1894 edition, which tells how easy the Duke found it to write verse epistles, — that it was one of his favourite occupations — or in the lines from these very epistles :

1. Vol. II, pp. 295-323, dated from 1845 to 1848.

2. So one gathers from the note appended by the author's son (pp. 295-6) to the two fragments first reproduced. « Ambos fragmentos », it concludes, « son una muestra de la espontaneidad y el chiste con que, al correr de la pluma, escribía el Duque estas cartas en verso, a que era muy aficionado ». And we know from the epistles to Vargas (see p. 27 above) that their author was given to writing them when quite young.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

Más fácil me es en verso que no en prosa,
Y en verso has de saber mis aventuras,
Que así corre mi pluma más gustosa ¹.

The poems of this period as a whole fall chronologically into two classes : poems written mainly at Sevilla during the few years after Rivas' return from exile ², and a much larger number composed at Naples during the years 1844 to 1848 ³. Of the former class, *La Catedral de Sevilla* is as notable an example of Rivas' decline in lyric inspiration as one could well meet. As irreproachable in sentiment as pretentious in form, it is almost destitute of colour ⁴ and shows but little poetic imagination. The jingle of the concluding lines is pitiable, and does more credit to Rivas' devotion than to his skill :

Mientras más te contemplo y más te admiro,
Más entusiasmo y pura fe respiro —
¡Salve, portento santo sin segundo,
Gloria de España, admiración del mundo ⁵!

Except *La Cancela* ⁶, the other Sevillian poems are not parti-

1. Cf. II, 323.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-183.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-323. The remaining poems, besides two or three sonnets, are the *romances* of the African War (see p. 102 above) and the *Nochebuena* mentioned below.

4. The golden altar, the white cloud of incense, and the

« luz amarilla
De misteriosa lámpara ».

are all the unmistakable images of colour that one finds.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

6. Published in the *Revista Andaluza* in 1841 (Vol. II, pp. 43-5), but written in 1837, according to the date in the collected works. Valera (*op. cit.*, p. 121) speaks of it more enthusiastically than one would expect.

cularly regionalistic in character or noteworthy from any other standpoint. From the nature of the Neapolitan poems, as well as from their quantity, we may deduce a great interest in Naples and its environment. The Barcarolle, with its haunting refrain, written in 1845¹, conveys perhaps to us as much of the spirit of Italy as anything Rivas wrote, and some others are not far below it : *La Aparición de la Mergelina*, *A Don José Zorrilla*, and, less obviously, *Fantasia nocturna*. Nevertheless, the poet is continually going back to Andalucía in spirit, and comparing it with his Neapolitan surroundings, to the disadvantage of the latter. He writes to Zorrilla of the

delicias de Sevilla,
De Guadalquivir la orilla
Y mi tranquila mansión,

and asks

¿Que haré yo, mi amado amigo;
Qué haré yo, que dejé en ellas
De mis ojos las estrellas,
Las prendas del corazón²?

In the two fragments to the Marqués de Valmar, he narrates his disappointment with Naples as he found it, after hearing it so extravagantly praised :

« No hay región en el orbe descubierta,
« Cual Nápoles », decían. (¡Embusteros!
No volverán a atravesar mi puerta.)
« ¡Qué clima! ¡Qué placeres! Los Eneros
« Son cual los Mayos son de Andalucía;
« Las mujeres palomas y corderos. »

1. *Una noche de verano en el golfo de Nápoles*.

2. Vol. II, p. 220, cf. pp. 222-3.

Todas eran mentiras e invenciones,
Que es Nápoles país abominable,
Y el peor que hay del Sur a los Triones ¹.

And although he afterwards modified this harsh judgment ², and Andalusian memories appear less in his verse, we have ample proof that his pen, like his mind, continually wandered back to his country.

There is grace, recalling that of some of the early poems, in the three sonnets to Lucianela ³, the fisher-girl, who was in the habit of dancing the tarantella outside Rivas' palace in Naples on Sundays and festivals ⁴. But they are nothing more than circumstantial verses, showing no signs of careful elaboration, and giving the impression rather of having been dashed off in a few moments of leisure. And, as Valera points out, they are just as frivolous in their intention as if they had been addressed to the elegant ladies whose jealousy they may have been playfully intended to rouse ⁵. But they contain so many reminiscences of the « Olimpia » verses that it is impossible to pass them over in silence.

The remaining characteristic to be noted in the verse of this period is one which we have hardly encountered in Rivas' earlier works. It is a tendency towards the *desengaño* which was so common an inspiration in the poetry of the early nineteenth century in western Europe, in Byron, Shelley, Vigny, Musset, Heine, Lenau, Leopardi, Espronceda — to mention only a few of the best known names. Never so much as approaching the pessimism of Vigny or Leopardi, the *desengaño* of Rivas has an entirely personal

1. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 297-9.

3. *Obras*, ed. 1894, Vol. II, pp. 217, 233, 281.

4. Juan Valera (*op. cit.*, pp. 122-4) describes the scene in detail.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

basis. It is frankly a *desengaño* caused by approaching old age. Cañete attributes this tendency to the influence of the Italian poets of disillusionment, such as Parini, Manzoni, Foscolo and Leopardi¹. But there is no reason to suppose that such influence is anything more than possible, and we can find no trace of any direct debt.

This disillusion finds its best expression in the poem entitled *Vejez*, where, without formulating any philosophical theories or dogmas, Rivas states the grounds of his bitterness in the most general terms :

¿Qué es para el hombre el mundo?... Una posada
De que debe partir al otro día.
Y ¿cómo sufrir debe la agonía
Un cuerpo que desplómase en la nada²?

And the spirit of the poem is to be found in the ever-recurrent refrain :

Placeres, gloria, aplausos y contento
Mire en torno la ardiente juventud;
Y la vejez disgustos, desaliento,
Y la muerte, y después el ataúd³.

But perhaps the *desengaño* of this poem furnishes the best proof that Rivas' disillusionment was entirely subjective, and due to enfeebled health, pain and the oncoming of old age. One has only to read of the conditions under which he wrote it, to be persuaded that we have passed the stage

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 113 : « El íntimo consorcio de las lenguas italiana y española y el ejemplo de líricos tan ilustres como Parini, Manzoni, Foscolo y Leopardi habían necesariamente de influir en las inspiraciones de nuestro poeta despertando en su corazón peregrinas armonías. »

2. Vol. II, p. 292.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-293, *passim*.

where criticism is possible¹. Only their personal interest justifies even the insertion of lines so alien to Rivas' normal spirit, and one could as justly pass judgment on the « Romance de la guerra de Africa² ».

Something may be said in this chapter of the various prose writings which are to be found in the 1854-5 and 1884-5 editions of Rivas' works, though not in that of 1894. It would hardly be a kindness — and the nature of the work renders it unnecessary — to comment on the « Breve Reseña de la Historia del Reino de las Dos Sicilias » (Madrid, July 1855), which, according to a footnote, was written « para la importante y lujosa obra titulada *Reyes contemporáneos* ». It is merely an historical summary and pretends to be no more. A more substantial production, the *Sublevación de Nápoles capitaneada por Masaniello* (Naples, 1847), is termed by the author an « historical study » and is also outside the scope of the present volume. It will be sufficient to add to what has already been said about this book³ that it is primarily the work of a reader and a student : the poet appears only here and there.

Of the three short prose sketches which appear in the edition of 1854 over the dates 1838-9, the least interesting is entitled *Los Hércules*, and is a description of what was once known as the « Alameda Vieja » in Sevilla and the two gigantic pillars known as the pillars of Hercules. The *Hospedador de Provincia*, however, and the *Ventero*, are significant as being examples of prose studies in national types and customs which came well from the author of *Don Alvaro*. In this less restricted descriptive field Rivas was able to give play to his gifts for detailed description. His minute obser-

1. See p. 102 above.

2. See p. 102 note 1 above.

3. See above p. 95.

vation of human character, and the vivacity of his interpolated dialogues, added to the exercise of a natural bent towards realism, make these sketches notable examples of their *genre*.

The Neapolitan sketches of 1844 — *Viaje al Vesubio* and *Viaje a las Ruinas de Pesto* — have the appearance of being extracts from a diary worked up into articles for publication¹ by the addition of historical and reflective matter. They have, to a marked degree, — unlike the preceding sketches — those qualities of light and colour which characterise Rivas' verse². But the predominant tone of the two sketches is given them by the circumstantiality, often the

1. They were first published in the *Revista de España y del Extranjero* for 1844, Vol. IX, pp. 145-167, 333-349.

2. A description of the ascent of Vesuvius by night and of sunrise as seen from its summit the next morning could hardly fail to draw out these qualities. So we find :

« Su elevada cima cubierta de escorias y cenizas, que se bañan por la tarde de un apacibilísimo color de púrpura; y el penacho de humo, ya blanquecino, ya negruzco, ya dorado por los rayos del sol, que corona su frente... Parecía el inmenso casco empavonado de un Titán, sobre cuya cimera volaba un penacho rojo... A pesar de que la luna era clarísima... se encendieron varias hachas de viento, a cuya roja luz presentaba una apariencia verdaderamente fantástica nuestra cabalgada... Se cubrió el cielo de espesas nubes, robándonos la luz de la luna, que apareció al través de ellas como un cadáver amortajado; y envolviendo la alta cumbre a donde nos dirigíamos, dieron al fuego un color opaco y más espantoso... Clavamos en silencio los ojos en el oriente y vimos ceñido el remoto horizonte con una ráfaga de grana perfilada de oro, sobre la cual se dibujan los contornos recortados de los montes Apeninos, cuya masa ofrecía un todo de azul turquí oscuro... Sombrios aun los montes de Castellamare, contrastaban con las brillantes tintas de púrpura y oro que esmaltaban las cumbres de Capri, de Ischia y de Posilipo. » These are by no means all the images that could be cited, but only a selection from them. The *Viaje a las Ruinas de Pesto* might be similarly excerpted.

prolixity, of the diarist's detail. Thus, in the Vesuvius article, the names of the travellers are given; their meal of « un corpulento *pâté de foie gras* y varias sabrosas frutas » is described; they wash it down with two bottles of Rhenish wine and two of *manzanilla*: they refuse to write their names in the visitors' book because others have written foolishness in it, and so forth. In the other narrative we are given a description of the English hotel where the writer stayed and the refreshment provided by the prior at the monastery.

These, however, are the pedestrian parts of a narrative which is by no means pedestrian as a whole. The graphic and picturesque description of the ascent of Vesuvius is sufficient justification of the method which Rivas employs in prose narrative as well as in epic and drama. In reading these sketches we think twice of Don Alvaro. Not only are we reminded, as the author is, of the convent in the description of that near Amalfi¹, but also of the inn at Hornachuelos in passages from the *Ventero*². The comparison of these prose sketches with that drama is perhaps their greatest interest, though they have considerable intrinsic merit also.

1. A la derecha de *Amalfi*, sobre elevadas rocas, mirando al mar, hay un convento de Capuchinos... Fuimos a él al anochecer, y al aproximarnos oímos los sonidos del órgano que hacían un efecto maravilloso entre aquellas peñas, cuyas formas rudas y colosales contornos presentaban una masa imponente y confusa a la borrosa luz del crepúsculo moribundo; recordamos algunas escenas de *Don Alvaro*, y entramos en la pobre y reducida iglesia cuando los frailes en el coro cantaban completas...

Al retirarnos mandaron a un lego que con un farolillo nos alumbrase para bajar la escalera. No era ciertamente este lego el hermano *Melitón*, pues no desplegó sus labios en el largo tiempo que empleamos en la bajada.

2. *Obras*, ed. 1854, Vol. V, pp. 346-356, *passim*. The passages are too long to quote in full.

II

Romances históricos. — In what respects they are the crown of Rivas' achievements. — The renaissance of the verse romance. — Its suitability to Rivas' genius. — The Prologue and its practical expression. — Religion in the *Romances*. — Their artistry : colour, light, atmosphere, landscapes, etc. — The place of the grotesque, the horrible and the bizarre in the *Romances*.

When Rivas' work is viewed as a whole, these lyrics of his latest years will seem a mere digression from the path which we now rejoin. We have in fact arrived at what in some ways is the crown of his work — the Historical Romances.

According to the view taken in these chapters there are three well-defined stages in the Romanticism of the Duque de Rivas : the nascent Romanticism of the *Paso Honroso*, *Florinda* and the early lyrics; the full-flowering Romanticism, yet undeclared and unacknowledged as such, in the *Moro Expósito*; and the Romanticism which — to change the figure — flashed fire in *Don Alvaro*, to smoulder but once again in the dramas, burning, however, with a brighter and steadier light in the *romances históricos* and *leyendas*.

This is not, of course, the view of the ordinary reader, nor as a rule of the text-book of literature, where Rivas is essentially the creator of Don Alvaro. That the play of that name was at its appearance of the greater service to Roman-

ticism in Spain we do not dispute: we merely assert that it was not the best work of its author.

It is interesting to find that so acute a critic as Enrique Gil y Carrasco took this view — or something nearly approaching it — at the time that the collection of Romances first appeared. His article in the *Pensamiento* for 1841 reprinted in his works¹, concludes with the following summary :

El señor Duque de Rivas ha coronado con un éxito feliz una de las más importantes empresas literarias que se han acometido en España de mucho tiempo a esta parte. Pocos escritores pueden gloriarse de haber proporcionado servicios tan eminentes a las letras españolas. Cuando rayó la aurora de nuestra regeneración poética, salió el *Moro Expósito* a servir de blanco a los tiros de la crítica; poco después *D. Alvaro* arrostró en el teatro los peligros de una innovación repentina y de una transición violenta, abriendo una senda más filosófica y fecunda, y con la publicación de los *Romances Históricos* ha anudado el hilo de oro de nuestra literatura nacional, desenmarañando no poco su revuelta madeja.

Don Alvaro was in fact neither the best nor the most characteristic product of the genius of the Duque de Rivas. It shows as clearly the influence of the French Romantic Drama as did *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* that of French Classical Comedy. Its extravagances, if outweighed by its merits, exist nevertheless; and as they were neither traditional nor inherent in the Romantic drama of Spain, so they were hardly ever repeated in the Duke's later plays, nor foreshadowed by his earlier ones. As *Don Alvaro* is a solitary, splendid, half-Byronic figure in the drama which bears his name, so the half-Byronic drama is an achievement which stands out in splendid isolation from Rivas' other works. It is not merely unlike the rest : it is totally dissimilar, in some respects antithetical, — a thing apart.

1. Gil y Carrasco, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 165.

We have insisted that no feature of Spanish Romanticism was more characteristic than its return to past ages, and none of its achievements was greater than the restoration to pre-eminence of what for the moment may be termed the « verse romance »¹. Conservatives like Hermosilla might delay this revival, but it was backed by tradition and temperament, and they could not prevent it altogether. It was in this *genre* that the Duque de Rivas made his principal contribution to Spanish Romanticism. His very earliest verses foreshadow his skill as a narrative writer, and betray a tendency towards those artistic qualities which Romanticism was to make its own. The *Moro Expósito*, together with its prologue, was published before *Don Alvaro*, in its present form, had been written. Even during the time of its composition, verse romances, in a mixture of narrative and dramatic style, were coming simultaneously from the author's pen. And these *romances históricos*, published as a collection for the first time in 1840, were succeeded by a series of the *leyendas* in 1854. It is these last two collections which we have now to study.

It will be clear from a study of the preceding chapters that the verse narrative offered a far more suitable field for the display of Rivas' peculiar qualities than could be provided by any form of drama. The principal weaknesses of the Duke are in plot-construction and in character-development. He has a natural leaning towards the tableau. His plays, when he seeks to be original and departs from the stereotyped plot of Calderonian or of Moratinian comedy, tend to resolve themselves in effect into a series of tableaux. Each of these

1. So the publishers of the *Moro Expósito* (see p. 61 above): « Nos merecen particular predilección los *Romances*, género de poesía peculiar de nuestra nación, y que no se cultiva aún con la frecuencia y esmero que debiera. » (Ed. 1834, Vol. II, p. 207.)

is unusually effective and striking in itself, but the effect of a series of them upon the reader or spectator is to create moments of intense emotional stress and consequent intense interest, followed by periods of depression and dulness during which the business necessary to the connection of the tableaux is related or acted. So, too, with regard to characterisation. Rivas' characters are striking as portraits. They pose to perfection, and at his best he is a master of the art of staging, lighting and dressing them to advantage. But even when he rejects the unities, and produces a play of the type noted in European literature principally for the magnificently human and lifelike characters the creation of which has been made possible by independence of artificial restrictions, the statuesque character remains. Rivas has simply no conception of character-development. A Shylock, an Othello, a Hamlet are beyond his range altogether.

Now in the verse-romance neither of these faults is so great a drawback as in the more exacting sphere of the drama. The narrative has no fixed divisions — it may be lengthened or shortened at will; it has no bounds of time or place; it may be serious or comic, grave or gay¹; it is read, not acted, and the imagination may be stimulated by description, digression, reflection or whatever means the writer cares to employ. The result is a loose, rambling plot, of which no more is demanded than that it shall have one strong main interest which shall form the thread of the story. These interests Rivas' sources are well able to supply. His tableaux, worked up with greater elaborateness than is possible in the text of a play, live in the memories of his readers, and

1. Cf. publishers' preface to the appendix of Vol. II of *El Moro Expósito* (ed. 1834, p. 207) : « Nosotros lejos de encontrar reminiscencia ninguna inherente a su estructura, vemos que se acomoda con igual docilidad a los asuntos festivos y jocosos... etc. »

emphasise the most dramatic moments of the narrative. The intervening periods are enlivened by descriptive passages, and by devices associated with description, which again can have little or no place in drama but may be given full play in a *leyenda*. In fact, in the majority of Rivas' later verse romances, the narrative flows more evenly than in the *Moro Expósito*, where the tableaux are most marked, and the crests and troughs of interest disappear.

— ¿ Queréis que os diga ahora cuál es a mis ojos su instinto poético verdadero? said Cueto to the Academy in 1866, after Rivas' death.

Ya lo adivináis : el Duque de Rivas, autor de leyendas, en que refiere lances peregrinos que frisan con la patraña, y de romances sencillos en que caben todos los tonos, todas las condiciones sociales y todos los sucesos humanos, es un poeta en que asoma la inspiración épica en grado principal y eminente ¹.

We must not take the word « epic » too literally : Cueto is merely saying that Rivas was a Heaven-sent story-teller.

Further, the verse-narrative, besides saving Rivas from two of his worst faults, allowed him to exercise to the full his most striking gifts, upon which it is hardly necessary at this point to expatiate. Suffice it to say that the attraction for him of colour and light, which is evident in his most juvenile productions, is totally unable to find expression in drama, as is also his fondness for sea and skylscapes, for the typical scenery of Andalucía and particularly for Córdoba, Sevilla and the Guadalquivir.

It is hardly to our purpose here to follow in detail the long discussion which serves as prologue to the *Romances históricos*, and in which the Duke goes into the questions of the

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 523.

origin of the « romance octosílabo castellano », of its development and popularity in Spain, and of the merits which both justified this vogue and call for its resuscitation, « in this period of regeneration »,

en que la poesía, rompiendo los estrechos límites de reglas arbitrarias, aunque respetadas por un siglo entero, pugna por volver a su origen, dejando a un lado la servil imitación de griegos y latinos y buscando inspiraciones propias en épocas más en armonía con las sociedades modernas ¹.

In the course of the prologue, however, its author makes clear the importance of the *genre* to the « new poetry » of Spain :

La consideración que merecían los romances históricos de aquellos siglos, y el crédito y fe que se las daba, se conoce al recordar que de las tradiciones conservadas en ellos se formaron muchas de las narraciones de las crónicas que se escribieron después. Narraciones que, aun cuando sean de hechos falsos o exagerados, y que por lo tanto hayan sido últimamente arrojados de la historia por la crítica moderna, tienen siempre para nosotros una ventaja inapreciable, la de darnos a conocer las ideas de los siglos en que se escribieron y creyeron ².

« An admiration for great deeds and a religious enthusiasm » inspired these narratives ³, but the octosyllabic form, popularised by the substitution of assonance for rime, survived these sources of inspiration, and became a favourite metre for dramatists, satirists and « mere versifiers ». It therefore sank into degradation :

Y convertido al fin en su patrimonio exclusivo, murió a sus manos, ya hinchado y ridículamente culto; ya lánguido, trivial y chabacano, desacreditándose hasta tal punto que fué últimamente mirado como el verso escrito sólo para el vulgo, y como el que podía permi-

1. *Works*, ed. 1894, Vol. IV, p. XIV.

2. *Ibid.*, p. IX.

3. *Ibid.*, p. IX.

tírsele al vulgo en sus groseras composiciones, y los hombres literatos comenzaron a asquearlo y a desdeñarlo ¹.

During the eighteenth century (continues the prologue), various attempts were made to revive both the old metre and the old poetry to which it served as a vehicle of expression, but it has been left to the Romantics to accomplish this. Their patriotism will best be expressed by reviving not only the legendary *motif* but also the octosyllabic *romance*, which, in Spain at least, is inseparable from it ².

Buscándose en los tiempos feudales y en los siglos caballerescos los asuntos y el colorido de la poesía actual, ningún otro metro podía encontrarse más a propósito como castizo y original; como nacido en la época misma de los héroes que ahora se celebran; como depósito de esos matices mismos que hoy se buscan con tanto empeño; y como el más adecuado, en fin, por su sencillez, facilidad y soltura, a todos los tonos de la poesía y, por lo tanto, a los atrevidos, variados y desiguales vuelos del *romanticismo* ³.

So he concludes with a plea to the Romantic poets of his own and future generations :

No renunciemos al abundante y rico tesoro de elocución poética

1. *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

2. Rivas enters into a defence of this metre specifically (*ibid.*, pp. XIX-XXIX) : « El romance octosilábico castellano es acaso la combinación métrica que obteniendo la primacía para la poesía histórica, como la más apta para la narración y la descripción se presta más naturalmente a todo género de asuntos, a toda especie de composiciones... etc. »

3. *Ibid.*, p. XIV. Cf. publishers' preface to appendix to *El Moro Expósito*, ed. 1834, Vol. II, pp. 207-8 : « Con lo cual se prueba además, que no necesitamos recurrir a la mitología, ni a siglos remotos, o a hechos de historias extrañas, para captar la atención de los lectores, a quienes deben interesar con preferencia los sucesos que están en la esfera de su creencia y costumbres, y los sacados de los anales de su propia patria .. etc. »

castellana que en los romances octosilábicos poseémos, ni desechemos uno de nuestros mejores títulos a la gloria poética ¹.

The closing words of the prologue express the aim of the volume of 1840 as primarily this :

Volverlo (el romance) a su primer objeto y a su primitivo vigor y enérgica sencillez, sin olvidar los adelantos del lenguaje, del gusto y de la filosofía, y aprovechándose de todos los atavíos con que nuestros buenos ingenios lo han engalanado ¹,

or at the very least to acquaint the younger Romantics and others with its possibilities :

Al menos habré conseguido llamar la atención sobre el romance castellano y sobre la poesía histórica a la estudiosa juventud, que con tanto aprovechamiento cultiva hoy entre nosotros la amena literatura, dando diariamente, en composiciones de mucho mérito, claras pruebas de fecundo ingenio y de brillante imaginación ².

Even a casual glance at the volume, however, will make it clear that by « poesía histórica » the writer does not exclusively mean poetical treatments of mediaeval or chivalric themes like that which he developed in the *Moro Expósito*. The *romances* of this collection are drawn from many epochs of Spanish history, none of them earlier than the late fourteenth century and the greater number considerably later. The principal subjects are taken from the reigns of Pedro the Cruel, Juan II, Fernando and Isabel, Carlos I and Felipe II, and the last are almost contemporary episodes. Such a collection could not be called *romances* of the « tiempos feudales » or the « siglos caballerescos ».

But for all that they are pre-eminently poems inspired by « an admiration for great deeds and a religious enthusiasm », and they are pre-eminently patriotic.

1. *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. xxix.

The patriotism of Rivas is all the more effective for being essentially sane. There is no attempt, for example, in the poems dealing with Pedro the Cruel to make that king anything but what he was. The poet is content to extol his country where he reasonably and justly can. And this he does with lyric ardour, whether he is in imagination at the battle of Pavía :

Los arcabuces de España
No hay fila que no destrocen,
No hay caballo que no ahuyenten,
No hay guerrero que no postren.
Y las picas españolas
No hay escuadra que no arrollen,
Embate que no resistan,
Ni desnudo que no asombren ¹.

or whether it is the battle-field of Bailén the memories of which impel him to break into a panegyric :

¡Bailén!... ¡Oh mágico nombre!
¿Qué español al pronunciarlo
No siente arder en su pecho
El volcán del entusiasmo?
¡Bailén!... La más pura gloria
Que ve la historia en sus fastos,
Y el siglo presente admira,
Sentó su trono en tus campos.
¡Bailén!... en tus olivares
Tranquilos y solitarios,
En tus calladas colinas,
En tu arroyo y en tus prados,
Su tribunal inflexible
Puso el Dios tres veces santo,
Y de independencia eterna
Dió a favor de España el fallo ².

1. IV, 210.

2. IV, 404.

Even apart from such lyrical passages, the *Romances históricos* are intrinsically the work of a patriot. The very fact that the author should wish to present in the national metre episodes from the national history proves this. He gives to them the same importance as the great romances of chivalry had possessed in the past.

El romance, que le habría parecido en otro tiempo una profanación de la musa heroica, le parece ahora el instrumento más docil, mas simpático y más español. Quiere contar al pueblo sus grandezas y sus ilusiones en el lenguaje flexible, natural y poético que el pueblo mismo ha creado... Guárdase bien de entonar la *trompa épica* ¹.

Patriotism to Rivas, as to Zorrilla after him, and as to most of the Spanish romantics, goes hand in hand with the Catholic Faith ². There is none of the fatalism in these *romances* which we remarked in *Don Alvaro* and the *Moro Expósito*, where it is largely (though not, as we have seen, wholly) dramatic. Only meaningless phrases — such as still abound in all our talk — remain : « la inexorable suerte ³ », « Tan inflexible es la suerte ⁴ », « luchando Del Destino con las iras ⁵ », and the like. It is only poetically (and by a daring venture at that) that the stars are « ojos del cielo sañudos ⁶ ». « Destino sañudo » becomes more often « la

1. Cueto, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

2. As, of Columbus, he says (IV, 133) :

Ve la expedición segura,
Y ya en ignotas regiones
Triunfantes la fe de Cristo
Con el castellano nombre.

3. IV, 123.

4. IV, 286.

5. IV, 416. For the very few phrases which incline towards a more fatalistic philosophy, see IV, 216, ll. 21-4; 378, ll. 5-8.

6. IV, 50.

eterna justicia ¹ », « la divina venganza ² », « el brazo del Eterno ³ », « el labio de Dios ⁴ ». Instead of being the sport of fate, man is

De la Omnipotencia sabia
Sólo instrumento, sus miras
Nadie puede penetrarlas ⁵.

Del Eterno los juicios
Santos son e inescrutables ⁶.

The semi-divine kingship of seventeenth-century drama is gone; it is by God that kings reign and princes decree justice, by Him that they fall if they fail to keep their trust ⁷. Equally by Him a bound is set to the fury of the storm and to the ocean's rage :

Y en la humilde y blanda arena,
O en el informe peñasco
Donde el dedo del Eterno
Escribe *hasta aquí*, pedazos
Se hace su furia espantosa,
Se estrella su orgullo insano,
Y en espuma roto vuela
Su poder, del orbe espanto ⁸.

1. IV, 4, cf. p. 374, ll. 17-20.

2. IV, 145, cf. p. 78, l. 8.

3. IV, 264.

4. IV, 409, l. 4.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Pues Dios es juez de los reyes,
Y su mano sacrosancta
Rompe coronas y cetros,
Solios e imperios allana.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 408.

Further we breathe the atmosphere of the Church in these *romances* in a way impossible to a reader of the *Moro Expósito* : we feel now that the author believes in what he writes of — in the Eucharist ¹, in the Church's last offices ², in Divine consolation and the means of grace provided for the faithful who desire it ³. He is free now to rejoice in the

Magníficos templos
Que ensalzan al cristianismo ⁴

and to picture the throne of the Almighty attended by archangels whom He sends out to do His bidding ⁵. Further, it would be easy to show in detail how Rivas' patriotism is, like that of the average Spaniard, bound up with the high morality and the strict code of honour which illumine the *Romances*. Illustrations might be found in every narrative, but it will be sufficient to remark upon the scorn which he metes out to the treacherous Condestable de Bor-

1. It is of the Sacrifice of the Altar that he writes on p. 162 :

Terminado el sacrificio
Recibe la Eucaristía,
Resplandeciendo en su rostro
El entusiasmo y fe viva.

Cf. p. 274, l. 2 : « El pan de la vida eterna. »

2. P. 284. Los oficios solemnes,
Último auxilio que presta
La Santa Iglesia a los fieles.

3. P. 251. Cuando busca devoto
Con el fervor más ingenuo,
Arrodillado en la iglesia
En Dios amparo y consuelo.

and ll. ff., to p. 253, l. 4.

4. IV, 260, ll. 17-18.

5. IV, 410, ll. 23-6.

bón, both in the words of the Spanish warriors ¹ and in his own person ².

Turning to the artistry of the poems, we shall remark in many of them the brilliancy of colouring which we find in much of Rivas' earlier work. The same « celajes de oro y de grana ³ » of the ever-recurring sunset ⁴, the same whites

1. *La Victoria de Pavía* and *Un Castellano leal*, *passim*, especially the opening lines of the latter poem :

... No profane mi palacio
Un fementido traidor,
Que contra su Rey combate
Y que a su patria vendió. (IV, 238, ll. 9-12.)

2. The tone of the two poems is more eloquent than any words, but cf., pp. 226, ll. 19-22; 238, ll. 15-18 respectively :

De Borbón el Duque altivo
¡Desacato repugnante!
A su Rey vencido quiere
Sin reparo presentarse
El que lidiando en Pavía,
Más que valiente, feroz,
Gozóse en ver prisionero
A su natural señor.

3. IV, 275.

4. Cf., IV, 11. Y cuando el sol descendía,
Dejando esmaltado el cielo
De rosa, morado y oro,
Con nubes de grana y fuego.

IV, 22.

En las tardes del estío
Cuando al ocaso declina
El sol entre leves nubes,
Que de oro y grana matiza;
Aquel transparente cielo
Con ráfagas purpurinas,
Cortado por un celaje
Que el céfiro manso riza...
Etc., etc.

and golds, reds and purples of the attire of kings and nobles, the faces of « rosa y jazmín ¹ », the « nobles ojos azules ² », the « arnés, blanco ³ » of the warriors, and their plumes of blue, white or gold, — all these we have met before and shall meet again. But bursts of brilliance are not the characteristic of the colour-scheme of the *romances*. Rather are the poems marked by the continual invasion of white and black. Whole pages follow in succession in which no other colour is seen ⁴.

1. IV, 91, cf. also 192.

2. IV, 91.

3. IV, 183.

4. In the first romance alone there is the

negro bulto tendido
De un traspasado cadáver
Y de pie a su frente un hombre,
Vestido negro ropaje... (P. 5.)

the

negras alas
Del precipitado Arcángel (P. 6.)

the *alcalde*

Vestido de negra toga,
Blanca barba, albo cabello (P. 8.)

the king wearing

Sayo pardo, manto negro (P. 11.)

the heavens, which at nightfall

Con negras sombras se enlutan (P. 12.)

the *alcalde* once more

en negras vestiduras. (P. 12.)

and the « negro bulto » (p. 14) which slips unobserved behind a pillar, later to reveal itself as the King.

A less tragic poem, *Don Alvaro de Luna* (dated 1833), is equally striking in its use of black and white. The « grandes ojos negros » of the *ventera* (p. 67) the « penacho jalde y negro » of Diego Estúñiga.

The conclusion is soon reached that white and black (especially black) are really the outstanding colour-impressions of the *romances históricos*¹. It may, however, be added that, in part at least, this is due to the fact that the element of colour is somewhat less pronounced than in the earlier poems and the *Moro Expósito*. In these *romances* Rivas may have been influenced by the rapid octosyllabic line, or it may be that the scenes he describes lend themselves less readily to the colourist's art than does the setting of the longer poem. However it may be, the fact seems certain, and it is not possible to see any greater prominence of colouring in the earlier of the poems.

That the *romances* have comparatively little colour a few examples will suffice to show. In *Un Embajador Español*, for example, there is not a trace of colour — hardly a trace of pure description. The romance is entirely narrative throughout. In *La Buena Ventura*, a poem of over six hundred lines (dated 1838), there are only fourteen mentions

(p. 70) and the « banda negra » (p. 70) on his shield, Don Alvaro de Luna's white cloak with its distinctive red cross (p. 71),

Y una toca de velludo
Negro con bordados picos (P. 71.)

give tone to the romance in the first two cantos. These are almost the only occasions where a colour (even black) occurs in the entire poem, apart from the execution scene (pp. 82-7) where we have « un sayo de paño negro », « gualdrapa negra » and the « almohada negra » on the block. Cf. the « Viaje fúnebre » of pp. 278-9.

Examples might be multiplied from the other poems.

1. The most striking are appended for those who would study Rivas' use of colour in greater detail (References are to pages and lines respectively) :

29, 2; 29, 4; 29, 7; 29, 17; 49, 13; 77, 8; 82, 10; 82, 13; 152, 6; 156, 25; 185, 6; 191, 25-8; 213, 11; 248, 20; 266, 20-1, 301, 8; 304, 9-10; 335, 20; 337, 11, 21; 361, 3; 361, 7; 379, 1-2; 396, 4; 421, 5-12; 430, 1; 430, 14; 435, 8.

of colour, of which six are either of black or of white, and not one occurs in a description of any force. Of the two hundred or more stanzas which make up the *Victoria de Pavía* only two contain colour-references, if we except the brilliant and characteristic picture of the battle-array in the first canto. *El Solemne Desengaño*, longer by some three hundred lines, has, apart from one sunset scene and a mourning show where black naturally predominates, but ten isolated colour-lines, while the eleven hundred lines of the *Cuento de un Veterano* have but one reference, and that a conventional one, to any colour other than black or white ¹.

What has been said of colour applies in some degree also to Rivas' favourite images of light. Here and there are passages flooded with the sunlight or moonlight of the *Moro Expósito*, or with light of another kind, as in *El Conde de Villamediana*. Here and there are characteristic touches, as where, in *Don Alvaro de Luna*, the rays of the sun are reflected from the headsman's axe ², where Don Enrique's naked dagger gleams

como
Arde el rayo de los cielos,
Que va a trastornar el polo ³,

1. Some of the principal colour-references are, however, appended below, as an indication that Rivas is still a painter in verse :

Long passages : 29-30 *passim* (mainly red); 37, 21-8; 171-2 *passim*; 176, 8-12; 184, 9-16; 205-6 *passim*; 275, 21-8; 320-1 *passim*; 329, 19 to 330, 8 (this and the last are striking examples of Rivas' earlier prodigality of colour) 426, *passim*.

Shorter references : 40, 26; 59, 14; 90, 19; 168, 22; 183, 13; 185, 19-22; 187, 19-21 (red); 270, 4; 285, 4; 288, 21-4; 318, 10; 434, 8; 436, 25-8; 437, 1-5; 438, 5. (References, as in the preceding note, are to pages and lines respectively.)

2. IV, 85. Y una hacha, en cuya cuchilla
 Los rayos del sol reflejan.

3. IV, 60.

or where we are allowed to see Doña Ana de Mendoza, her hair turned to pure gold and her jewels to stars by the

resplandor
De seis candelas de esperma
Que un candelabro coronan,
Do recorta y abrillanta
La luz cinceladas hojas ¹.

But on the whole the light of the earlier poems and the *Moro Expósito* will be found to be somewhat dimmed; the images, though more frequent than those of colour, tend to become unreal and conventional, and the sunsets and moonlight-scenes grow fewer and far between. At the same time many may well think that, of the numerous exceptions, the finest atone — and more than atone — for the rather frequent commonplaces. It must remain a debatable question ².

Yet there is a higher art than the colourist's, and it would be quite incorrect to suppose that the artistry of the *romances* is inferior to that of the other poems mentioned. On the contrary, Rivas' principal achievement in this and the next collection is an infinitely more difficult one — viz : the creation, by sundry and varied means, of an atmosphere in which to set his stories. His colours, as we have seen, tend to lose their individuality and to become conventional. The same colour-phrases recur until they cease to be more than phrases and no longer call up images to the reader's mind. Rivas is outgrowing that stage of artistic development, and a subtler form of art is taking its place.

1. IV, 308.

2. Exceptions will be found on pp. 100, ll. 11-12; 131, 13 ff.; 132, 15-18; 152, 13-20; 159, 7-12; 168, 17-20; 190, 13-16; 191, 21-8; 247, 21-2; 248, 1-2; 249, 9-10; 255, 23 ff.; 265, 5-8; 298, 18-20; 300, 19 to 301, 2; 301, 21-4; 302, *passim*; 304, 19-22; 308, 11-14; 431, 1-4; 434, 1-4.

We have seen this new process germinating in the *Moro Expósito*, where indications of appropriate natural settings for the most striking scenes appear. In the earliest of the *romances*, which were written about 1833, there are similar indications; in the latest, written in 1839, they have been carried to a pitch approaching perfection.

The *Cuento de un Veterano* (1837), for example, has been treated with something like ridicule¹, and indeed, considered as a narrative, it is somewhat absurd. But consider this poem, denuded, as it is, of colour, as a study in the grotesque, as a series of pictures intended to convey an impression of horror and loathing, and it will at once become clear how many ways the poet had found of conveying those impressions beyond what at one time were the only means at his command.

Mediada estaba la tarde,
Bajaba el sol al ocaso...

begins one of the passages leading up to the climax. Thus brusquely the Saavedra of 1830 could never have written of a sunset : he must needs have decked it out in crimson and gold, at the least. But now he keeps his artistic effect for scenes in which it has a definite purpose to serve. The reader is prepared for the horror of the final catastrophe, first by a description of Lara's arrival at the convent :

El ciprés erguido mira,
Que taladrando los aires,
Aparece entre las sombras
Vago, aterrador gigante.

*
* *

Le pasma el hondo silencio
Y la obscuridad fragante

1. See, e. g., Azorin's *Rivas y Larra*.

De aquel huerto, que domina
Sin ver nada.

*
* *

Escucha el suave
Murmullo de agua corriente,
Y de las hojas que el aire
Mece con su dulce soplo.

*
* *

¡Ay! aún puede retirarse.
Mas no se retira ¹.

So the stage is set, and the reader is given a moment that his senses may be captured and prepared for the impression which the story is to make. When the last *romance* begins, and Lara is seen digging the fatal sepulchre with the nun standing by, the same effect is repeated, but in the intensified form best suited to a rapidly approaching catastrophe.

The nun (« la tal monja, o furia, Como aterrador fantasma ») is standing

Allá en un bajo terreno
De la huerta, hacia una punta
Que tapias y matorrales,
Y espesos troncos ocultan.

*
* *

En la mano una linterna
Tiene, que en sombras confusas
Deja escondido su cuerpo,
Y con luz de infierno alumbra
A sus pies, delante de ella,
Una zanja o sepultura...

*
* *

Reina silencio profundo,
Y solamente se escucha

1. P. 377. I divide the stanzas somewhat arbitrarily in an attempt to convey in a short space something of the total effect.

El grave vuelo y los ayes
De una agorera lechuza;
Y los golpes de la azada
Que entre la tiniebla obscura,
A la luz de la linterna
Con vivas chispas relumbra ¹.

Again, see how the scene in which Don Pedro has visions of those whom he has murdered is carefully prepared by judicious stage-management: the flickering embers on the hearth fill the room with an uncanny light which gives the tall pillars and the shadows which they cast on walls and floor strange shapes and forms :

Todo parece movable,
Todo de formas siniestras,
A los trémulos respiros
De la ahogada chimenea ²

and, following the general custom of the dealer in horrors, Rivas describes the effect upon the entrant's mind of what he sees :

Men Rodríguez de Sanabria
Al entrar en tal escena
Se siente desfallecido,
Y sus duros miembros tiemblan,
Advirtiéndole que Don Pedro,
No en su lecho, sino en tierra,
Yace tendido y convulso,
Pues se mueve y se revuelca ³...

The same effect is repeated at the beginning of the fourth canto, as a prelude to the brothers' meeting ⁴, while the ine-

1. IV, 389-90.

2. IV, 55.

3. IV, 55-6.

4. IV, 59-60.

vitable pause, for the reader to take stock of the horror of the situation, occurs before they recognise each other :

y todo
Queda en profundo silencio,
Silencio de horror y asombro ¹.

In this and the following collection, too, the vivid and sympathetic treatment of Spanish landscapes — and especially of Andalucía — reaches its highest point. Let us consider Rivas' paintings of Sevilla alone — from which town many of the *romances* are dated — and see how accurate, and at the same time how warm and appealing, they can be. All its most characteristic buildings are mentioned : the great tower

Do el gallardo Giraldillo
Hoy marca el mudable viento ²;

the Torre del Oro and the church of Santa Ana, on the banks of the Guadalquivir ³, the magnificent Alcázar with its charming gardens ⁴; the suburb of Triana and its bridge ⁵; the great cathedral ⁶, with its brazen-tongued Giralda bells, which continually call the city to prayer and go out to all the world declaring Sevilla's fame :

De la gran ciudad cabeza,
La gigantesca Giralda,
Con lengua de eterno bronce,
Cuya voz seis leguas anda,
Al huracán ensordece,
Sobrepaja a las borrascas,

-
- 1. IV, 61.
 - 2. IV, 7.
 - 3. IV, 11, cf. 165.
 - 4. IV, 21-2.
 - 5. IV, 11, 23.
 - 6. IV, 395.

Conmueve la baja tierra
Y el firmamento traspasa ¹.

The general impressions are no less exact.

El azahar y los jazmines,
Que si los ojos hechizan,
Embalsaman el ambiente
Con los aromas que espiran;
De las fuentes el murmurio
La lejana gritería
Que de la ciudad, del río,
De la alameda contigua
De Triana y de la puente
Confusa llega y perdida,
Con el són de las campanas,
Que en la alta Giralda vibran;
Forman 'un todo encantado,
Que nunca jamás se olvida ²...

And we are more than once (as in the opening lines of the first poem) reminded of the narrow and winding streets of the old city.

In the first canto of *Bailén*, Rivas breaks into a panegyric of the city founded by Hercules on the banks of the fertile Betis, fortified by no less a person than Julius Caesar and won by San Fernando

la opulenta Sevilla,
La del encantado alcázar,
La del magnífico templo,
La de la torre gallarda;
Emporio de la riqueza,
De claros ingenios patria ³...

Sevilla is by no means the only setting of these narratives,

1. IV, 398-9, cf. 24, 36.

2. IV, 23-4.

3. IV, 395-6.

though it is naturally enough the principal one. Córdoba finds a place in the story of Columbus :

De Abderramen la mezquita
Y de Almanzor las murallas,
Y el puente de Julio César,
Y las vividoras palmas ¹...

and it is here more particularly that the poet describes the vast cathedral in those days before it was spoilt by « perverse taste » :

la catedral sombría
Que Guadalquivir retrata,
Aún no del perverso gusto,
Cual después, contaminada...
... aquel bosque de mármol...
... aquella capilla ¹
De esmaltes y filigranas,
Que del Zancarrón el vulgo,
Y toda Córdoba, llama ².

Granada, too, in *El Solemne Desengaño*, is not forgotten, though it is not the Alhambra which the poet presents to us, but the rather pompous temple

Que los Católicos Reyes,
Consagraron victoriosos
Al Señor omnipotente ³,

while Toledo — « la gran Toledo, De España corte y diadema ⁴ » — and the Tajo — « cristalino ⁵ » and « aurífero ⁶ » by turns — is the scene of another of these national dramas.

1. IV, 105.

2. IV, 112.

3. IV, 284.

4. IV, 265, cf. 251.

5. IV, 261.

6. IV, 265.

It will be seen already how large a part in the *Romances* is played by the grotesque, the horrible and the bizarre. These traits may even be said to constitute the principal single inspiration of the series, next to the most obvious one of political and religious patriotism. One recalls the assassination scene in Sevilla which forms the subject of the first narrative. The hand and arm thrust out of the window are

de tendones y huesos
Sin jugo, como sin carne ¹

The face is

De gomia o bruja espantable,
A que otra marchita mano
O cubre o da sombra en parte ¹

The scene in the torture-chamber, fit subject for a night mare ²

No semejaba cosa
De este mundo, aunque se usan
En él cosas harto horrendas...
Sino cosa del infierno,
Funesta y maligna junta
De espectros y de vampiros
Festín horrible de furias ³.

Then, in corroboration of that assertion, all the devices of the tale of terror are arrayed before us : « Un bufete, Que más parece una tumba »; the « cuerdas, garfios, garruchas » of the torture-chamber; the sepulchral silence, broken only by the glimmering of the lamp and the metallic clatter of the

1. IV, 4.

2. IV, 12.

De aquellas que nos angustian
Si en horrenda pesadilla
El sueño nos la dibuja.

3. IV, 12.

irons; the Alcalde's equally « sepulchral » voice; the « ayes profundos Y gemidos » heard without; and the woman to whom belong the hand and face described above :

Una vieja miserable,
De ropa y carne desnuda,
Como un cuerpo que las hienas
Sacan de la sepultura ¹.

While it is not contended that all the narratives are of the character of this, the inclination of their author towards the grotesque and horrible, of which we have hints in the *Moro Expósito* and a clear demonstration in *Don Alvaro*, is in this collection more marked than in either. Peculiar to the *romances*, for example, is a curious explosion of « Satanism » which some would incontinently and unadvisedly write down as « Byronic ». It would be truer to say that its spasmodic occurrence is characteristic of the very moderate and fitful effect which Byronism exercised upon Rivas. In the castle scene of *El Fratricidio* there is a typical picture :

En medio del patio ardía
Una gran lumbrada, a cuyo
Resplandor de infierno, en torno
Varios satánicos grupos
Apiñados se veían,
En lo interno de los muros
Altas sombras proyectando
De fantásticos dibujos ².

In the same narrative Enrique speaks to Pedro « con satánico tono ³ », and the « satánica risa » of the nun in the *Cuento de un Veterano* has already been noticed. And what does the

1. IV, 13-14.

2. IV, 51.

3. IV, 61.

reader make of lines like these — at any rate apart from their context :

... La frente en las altas nubes,
El pie en los abismos hondos;
De infierno, de cielo y tierra
Un incomprensible aborto,
Un prodigioso compuesto
De ángel, de hombre y de demonio ¹.

Is it not very Byron?

In almost every *romance* the element of horror has its part. If the murder of Fadrique in *El Alcázar de Sevilla* might be made more repulsive by a greater attention to detail ², no opportunity is lost in *El Fratricidio*, where King Pedro is haunted by his crimes in a manner reminiscent of Shakespeare's *Richard III* ³; where the years are represented as placing between the King and his brother :

1. IV, 399-400.

2. Like the murder of Pedro, the actual event is related somewhat cursorily :

Cayó en tierra, un mar de sangre
Del roto cráneo vertiendo,
Y lanzando un alarido
Que llegó, sin duda, al cielo. (P. 40.)

3. Pp. 56-7. Cf. *Richard III*, V, 3-4. The resemblance is rather in situation than in the words of the passage, which are more suggestive of *Macbeth* than of *Richard III*. But Rivas' quotation in a footnote of the source of the lines :

Por vengarme doy mi vida,
Por un corcel mi diadema

as « My Kingdom for a horse — Shakespeare », makes one suspect Shakespearean influence, though to cite as parallels (which some critics might do) lines like

... Crying all « Guilty, Guilty » || ¿Osas maldecirme?

Un mar de rugiente sangre,
De huesos un promontorio,
De crímenes un abismo ¹...

and where, after a struggle between Enrique and Pedro, related with some rapidity, the fratricide brother gains the crown :

goteando
¡¡¡Sangre!!!... De funesto gozo
Retumbó en el campo un *viva*,
Y el infierno repitiólo ².

In *Don Alvaro de Luna* a spectre lends terror to the narrative — but a spectre withal so matter-of-fact as to create no great impression. That *Don Alvaro de Luna* was written in 1833 may explain, but hardly excuses it :

Delante se halla un espectro —
¡Un espectro! — Sí ³.

El Solemne Desengaño, which belongs to the later group of *romances*, is full of mystery and horror. The characteristic note is struck by the description of the Marqués de Lombay's melancholy ⁴, and Garcilaso's vision in his friend's sick-room is worked up as well as any such scene in the book ⁵. But the real substance of the poem, as gruesome as

Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh
(i. e. drops of sweat) || ¡Ay, que estoy nadando en sangre!
... There is no creature loves me; || ¿No hay quién a su Rey
And, if I die, no soul will pity me. || [socorra?
would be to obscure the general spirit of the scene, which is undoubtedly Shakespearean, by forced literal resemblances.

1. See also above, p. 235, n. 2.

2. IV, 63.

3. IV, 77.

4. IV, 250.

5. IV, 256.

could well be wished, is in the description of the Queen's interment, and the narration of how Lombay is so overcome at the sight of the being whom he had worshipped beginning to decay that he vows never to serve mortal man and goes into religion ¹.

Al punto un paje la tapa
Alza del féretro, y vese
Con sus regias vestiduras
Un cuerpo. Mas el ambiente
Con tal fetidez se infesta,
Que el brillo las luces pierden;
Atrás se retiran todos,
Y el concurso se conmueve.

The Marquis uncovers the dead Queen's face, and the effect of what he sees upon himself and the bystanders is described at length :

¡Cielos!
¿Qué es lo que dejó patente?
¡Horror! ¡Horror! Aquel rostro
De rosa y cándida nieve,
Aquella divina boca
De perlas y de claveles...
Tornados en masa informe,
Hedionda y confusa véñse,
Donde enjambre de gusanos
Voraz cebándose hierve.
Tal espectáculo horrendo,
Y la fetidez y peste
Que en torno se difundían,
Al gran concurso estremecen
Con terror pánico. Un grito,
Un alarido de muerte
Unánime se levanta;
Huye asustada la plebe,

1. IV, 287-8.

Huyen pajes, caballeros,
Arzobispo, nobles, prestes,
Y aterrados y oprimidos
Se apiñan en los canceles.

Equally gruesome in its way is the description of Villamediana's murder¹, while in the *Cuento de un Veterano* the gloom, the gruesomeness and the absurdity of the whole narrative are evident even to a casual reader.

1. IV, 323.

III

Leyendas. — Publication of the *leyendas*. — Their maturity and their freshness. — The three poems considered in turn. — Rivas' double inspiration : religion and patriotism. — Regionalism. — New tone of gravity in the *leyendas*. — Artistry : colour and light. — Examples of bold light-imagery.

Thirteen years after the *Romances históricos* (in May 1854) came a collection of three longer narrative poems, entitled *Leyendas*. The first and longest of these. *La Azucena milagrosa* — had been written at Naples in 1847 and dedicated to the young poet Zorrilla¹, the second — *Maldonado* — bears the subscription « Madrid 1852 »; while the short poem *El Aniversario* was composed in May 1854, perhaps specifically to round off the series. The collection may therefore be taken as representative of Rivas' non-dramatic art in its final stage², since he wrote nothing between 1854 and his death except a few short lyrics.

1. Who had shortly before written « La Azucena Silvestre, Leyenda religiosa del siglo IX » and inscribed it thus : « Al Señor Don Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, su mejor amigo, José Zorrilla. » Both poems are mediaeval and intensely religious in spirit, and each ends with the appearance of a miraculous lily of mystic significance. But apart from these similarities there is nothing which suggests that Rivas was seriously indebted to Zorrilla's narrative.

2. Son, pues, estas leyendas la verdadera expresión, o en otros tér-

Eugenio de Ochoa, to whom fell the task of writing a prologue to the *leyendas* for incorporation in the collected edition of 1854, invites his readers to compare the early poems of 1806 with these latest narratives, and to mark the world of difference between the outlook, art and skill of the poet then and now ¹.

En este período de casi medio siglo, la diferencia entre las primeras y las últimas, literaria y filosóficamente consideradas, es todavía mayor que la distancia material que las separa en el orden de primogenitura : *en nada, absolutamente en nada se parecen unas a otras* ².

The last sentence we italicise with intention. We have followed with some care the development of Rivas' art from its earliest stages, and we have seen, even in those « clásicos ensayos líricos de 1806 », the clearest signs of a genius essentially the same as that which inspired the « atrevidas concepciones » of 1854 ³. It is true that, as Ochoa says, the young classical poet turned down new paths, shook off the fetters of tradition, and followed Nature freely ⁴; yet for

minos la medida exacta de lo que representa y vale hoy su autor, considerado como poeta. (Prólogo.)

1. El lector que en los dos tomos anteriores ha ido siguiendo el sucesivo desarrollo de las facultades poéticas, del gusto y de las ideas del Duque de Rivas, puede ya abarcar de una ojeada el camino entero que han recorrido y las transformaciones todas que han experimentado aquellas facultades, aquel gusto y aquellas ideas desde los clásicos ensayos líricos de 1806, hasta las atrevidas concepciones de 1854. (*Ibid.*)

2. Gil y Carrasco speaks somewhat similarly (*op. cit.*, p. 149) but is far from being as positive as Ochoa in his assertion.

3. Cañete (in Rivas' Works, ed. 1854, Vol. I, pp. x, ff.) realises this to some extent.

4. La inspiración del poeta ha tomado formas enteramente nuevas desde que, sacudiendo el yugo de la rutina y de las tradiciones de escuela, empieza a campear libre, altiva y ufana por los espacios de

all that it would be hard to find a poet belonging to two literary epochs so radically opposed whose youth betrayed more of his maturity, and Ochoa's categorical negative shows how little he had studied or understood the early work which he evidently despised.

The critic is on surer ground when he expatiates upon the juvenile ease and vigour which characterise these poems written by a man of sixty :

La imaginación del Duque de Rivas tiene siempre veinte años : la misma savia circula hoy por sus venas, y con el mismo vigor que hace cincuenta años; el invierno de su vida es una feracísima primavera ¹.

It will be the aim of this chapter as much to insist upon the truth of this latter dictum as upon the inaccuracy of that which precedes it, and at the same time, while showing that the *leyendas* have « more warmth of imagination, more grace of language, more feeling for beauty, — in fact, more poetry and inspiration » than the earlier poems ², to examine a little more clearly and critically than has as yet been done the peculiar characteristics of this last stage in the poet's evolution as a writer of verse romances.

la fantasía, dirigida ya solo en su rápido vuelo por el estudio directo de la Naturaleza, y por el conocimiento práctico de la vida. (*Ibid.*)

1. *Ibid.* Cueto enlarges upon the same trait, applied to the character of Rivas, — *op. cit.*, pp. 593-4; and Cañete — *op. cit.*, pp. 93-4 — follows the same lines when he says : « El Duque de Rivas ha sido una de las personas en quienes se ha manifestado claramente la que ciertos médicos filósofos denominan *insenescencia* del alma. »

2. En las tres leyendas que, como hemos dicho, son hasta el presente sus últimas producciones, hay en nuestro sentir más calor de imaginación, más gala en el lenguaje, más sentimiento de la belleza, y, en suma, más *poesía*, más *inspiración* que en sus primeras obras, incluso el *Moro Expósito*, que compuso siendo joven, incluso la *Florinda*, fruto aún más temprano de su fecundo estro. (*Ibid.*)

Rivas uses the word *leyenda* in the somewhat technical sense which was common in France, and it is perhaps not a profitable occupation to enquire too closely into the precise meaning which he attached to it. Ochoa says : « It is a kind of composition new to Spain, or rather it is a poetical form recently imported: the name alone is new, and nothing more. » He identifies it, for all practical purposes, with the *romance*, from which it differs only in its variety of metre ¹. It will be remembered that Rivas called the *Moro Expósito* a *leyenda* and its separate cantos *romances*. Cañete terms the form « una como conseja tradicional escrita por lo común en diversidad de metros, y dedicada generalmente a despertar dulces memorias u ofrecer entretenimiento deleitable ² ». In spite of its later vogue in Spain he thinks it inferior as a *género* to that of the *Moro Expósito* as well as to that of the *Romances históricos* ³.

The three poems are by no means alike in subject and treatment. *La Azucena Milagrosa* reintroduces, against a background of the patriotic and the supernatural, the old theme of the husband persuaded by a traitor to believe his wife to have been unfaithful to him, only to discover his mistake after taking a terrible vengeance. This story is elaborated until it is hardly recognisable, and much

1. Constituyó [la leyenda] en todo tiempo nuestra verdadera poesía nacional bajo el dictado de *romance*. ¿Qué otra cosa son, si no, nuestros romances, más que verdaderas leyendas?... Salvo la variedad de metros, no vemos la menor diferencia entre cualquiera de las antiguas historias o de las tradiciones celebradas en los *Romanceros*, y la que con el título de *Maldonado* nos cuenta en preciosos versos el Duque de Rivas. (*Ibid.*)

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

3. Sin llegar a la grandiosidad casi épica de *El Moro Expósito*, ni poseer la flexibilidad, concisión y valentía que tanto contribuyen a popularizar el romance... (*Op. cit.*, p. 93.)

of the poem, notably the eloquent opening panegyric and description, and the *motif* of the lily on which it ends, have no essential connection with the main theme. Contrasted with the style of this *leyenda* is the comparatively straightforward *Maldonado* with its long tale of the storm overtaking the Aragonese fleet; the pilgrimage of the Admiral to Montserrat to return thanks for deliverance; the insult offered him by the Duke of Normandy; the challenge and the preparations for the duel (with episodic interludes in semi-epic style); finally, the duel, and the Admiral's insistence after his victory upon taking the five lilies from the Duke's shield. It is a story skilfully told, and psychologically more convincing than the *Azucena*¹, yet to the reader less attractive²: the *Azucena* charms by its wealth of imagination, colour and beauty, and by the happy use of the supernatural. The third poem, *El Aniversario*, is the shortest of the three, the least skilfully constructed and perhaps the least meritorious. The opening scene in Badajoz, the battle, and the final episode of the congregation at Mass, have no artistic unity among themselves: the *finale* has, however, a certain grandeur recalling parts of the *Moro Expósito*, and to call this poem, as most critics do, the weakest of the collection, is only to reiterate the high level which that collection attains.

If we consider the religious element in the three poems first it is because the primary impression which they make

1. For if there are improbabilities (Juan Valera, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-9) in *Maldonado* they are nothing compared with those of *La Azucena Milagrosa*!

2. Ochoa (Rivas' Works, ed. 1894, Vol. V, p. 209) thinks it the best. Cañete (*op. cit.*, pp. 92-113) discusses this view in such a way that the entirely subjective nature of the estimate becomes apparent. Juan Valera (*op. cit.*, pp. 139-151) gives a totally different order to his preference, and places the legends as a whole below the *Paso Honroso* and *Florinda*!! (p. 139).

is almost that of a conventional religious trilogy. The miraculous parts of the story of the Lily are, in spirit at least, the outcome of mediaeval piety : the dispensation of Almighty God, by which the false Rodrigo, after his death, is permitted for a space the use of eyes and tongue; the doe leading the penitent to the miraculous chapel; and lastly the appearance of the lily. The narrative of *Maldonado*, which is principally the story of a tournament, has at least a religious background, and the shrine at Montserrat is described with a sympathy and at a length which give it more importance than its place in the story warrants. The third legend (*El Aniversario*) closes with the most typically Catholic episode to be found in any of Rivas' poems or dramas — that of the priest who determines that Mass shall be said in the Cathedral of Badajoz during the war, even though none attend, and on turning to say the *Dominus vobiscum* finds the nave filled with the skeletons of old Christian warriors who have been miraculously raised to assist at the Sacrifice.

As we look back over Rivas' narrative poems we can see emerging gradually a double inspiration, patriotic and religious : « Fe santa y verdadero patriotismo ¹. » There is little enough of the latter in the *Paso Honroso* and *Florinda*, and their patriotism, local rather than national, is less striking than in the lyrics of the same period. The *Moro Expósito* is unsatisfactory as tested by orthodox Christian standards, though in a broad sense it is full of the religious spirit, and Catholicism finds a place in the plot as this develops. With patriotism — as apart from regional patriotism — the poet is less concerned than in the *Romances históricos*, of which, as we have just seen, devotion to both throne and altar, country and God, is a prominent characteristic. In the *Leyendas* the patriotic and the religious inspiration reach

1. Vol. V, p. 214.

their height : the poet of the *Florinda* is completely transformed.

Where, for example, is that insistence upon Destiny, that incipient fatalism, which is everywhere in the earlier work of the poet, and seems the result of something like an obsession? Scarcely even a phrase remains now : « el Destino infausto ¹ », mentioned in the introduction to the first legend, is the only reference which can fairly be termed pagan. The instrumentality is changed. Where a man is « fated » it is always « by heaven » or « by Providence ² ». The pagan significance of the word Destino has disappeared with the capital letter :

¡Oh, cuán breve y cuán largo es el camino
Que corre un desdichado,
Si va donde el destino
Le tiene algún desastre preparado ³!

That « destiny » is the same « celestial decree » as sends Blanca's brother to the penitent Nuño ⁴, condemns the false Rodrigo to life till he has confessed his crimes to his master ⁵, and foreordains elect souls to enjoy God ⁶. As in the *Romances*, it is God who binds or frees the elements, and whom the winds and waves obey ⁷.

Everywhere the poet takes the Christian point of view — never turning with the suddenness of drama, as in the

1. V, 223.

2. E. g., V, 307, 338, 340, etc.

3. V, 240.

4. V, 283.

5. V, 273.

6. V, 297. Mas no desiste el espantoso infierno
De combatir las almas que el Eterno
Elige para sí.

7. V, 325.

Moro Expósito, to write from the Moslem standpoint. As if to atone for the exaltation of a Moorish hero in that legend Rivas represents the struggle for Spain as an attempt made

Para lanzar el torpe mahometismo
Que aun del reino asombraba los confines,
Y plantar de Granada en el turbante
La bandera del Gólgota triunfante ¹.

The Catholic Monarchs are « suns still shining in eternal glory »² whose « high mission » was given them by God ³.

They are

... La grande Isabel y (el) gran Fernando
La garganta pisando
Del islamismo con tan firme planta,
Que jamás volvería
El brillo a obscurecer de la fe santa,
Ni a profanar la hermosa Andalucía ⁴.

Granada,

Antes manchado del inmundo cieno
De torpes ceremonias y de ritos
Por el cielo malditos ⁵.

1. V, 214. Cf. references to the « cruz soberana » (p. 227) « la santa luz del Evangelio » (p. 259), less important each in itself, but numerous.

2. V, 230. Soles
Que hoy en gloria sin fin están brillando.

Cf. also, p. 259.

3. V, 258.

4. V, 229.

5. V, 231. And again in almost identical words (p. 404)

Y en que purificando su mezquita
Del falso rito y prácticas inmundas
Del Gólgota a la enseña triunfadora,
Maldita se humilló la media luna.

has now « the Catholic faith in its bosom » and instead of « Mohammedan blasphemies » hears « the blessed words of the Holy Gospel » in what were once its mosques ¹. Unbelief is poetically represented as the

bárbaras tinieblas
De las espesas infernales brumas
En que el rebelde Arcángel envolvía
Las regiones del globo más fecundas ².

and the triumph of Catholicism in Mexico becomes

la insignia del Gólgota humillando
Del ídolo infernal la frente inmunda ³.

Allusions to the practices of the Church abound, especially to the sacraments of Baptism, the Mass and Penance. The last of the poems shows an acquaintance with the ritual of the Holy Sacrifice, and we have also occasional references to such pious customs as the ringing of the Angelus ⁴. But the most striking characteristic in these legends is the frequency of the references to Our Lady, which it would take much space to set out in full. It may be briefly noted that she is not merely the Mother of God ⁵, but Star of the Sea, Queen of the Angels ⁶, one who appears and works miracles in her

1. V, 231.

2. V, 259.

3. V, 261 (cf. 268).

4. V, 348.

5. The phrase « Madre del Verbo » occurs too frequently for quotation.

6. « La Virgen, soberana,
Que es de los ángeles reina. » (P. 306.)

« Virgen santa,
Lucero de la mar, del cielo Reina,
Madre del Redentor. » (P. 326.)

local habitations ¹, and above all — as might be expected from the date at which the collection was published — Mary the Immaculate. « La Virgen sin mancha ² », « la madre del Verbo sin mancilla ³ » are the most commonly recurrent phrases in these poems. It is principally in connection with Our Lady, too, that we are continually reminded of the ministering offices of the angels, the prayers of the saints and the hymns of the Cherubim which in one place ⁴ repeat the *salve* of the penitent sinner and rise with it to the throne of God.

The patriotism of the *Leyendas* is as prominent in the eulogies of great men like Hernán Cortes ⁵ and Columbus ⁶ as in long outbursts like the digression on Mexico and « perfidious Albion ⁷ ». In so far as the Moorish wars are concerned, Rivas' patriotism is bound up with his religion : the

1. As in *Maldonado*, where Our Lady of Montserrat is referred to as having wrought numerous miracles. Cf. p. 308, ll. 17-19 :

« La imagen santa
De la Virgen, ampara y protectora
De aquel terreno. »

2. V, 309, l. 26.

3. V, 217, l. 12.

4. V, 307, ll. 15-22 :

Deslumbrado el penitente
Cae de hinojos en la hierba,
Y entona solemne *salve*
Con el alma y con la lengua :
 Salve, que de querubines
Un coro que le rodea
Repite, y hasta los cielos
Sus puros acentos lleva.

5. V, 259, 295.

6. V, 294.

7. V, 260-1.

one, like the other, gives the *Azucena Milagrosa* a character as different as possible from the *Moro Expósito*. How would the author of that poem, for example, defend the lines which in the *Azucena Milagrosa* describe the occupation of Granada by the Christians :

... En vez de Abencerrajes
Y Zegríes traidores,
Poblada de linajes
Más altos y mejores,
Más bravos y hazañosos,
Y mucho más antiguos y gloriosos ¹?

We may think that the author protests too much, but the sting of the last line is undeniable! Is it a sign of tardy repentance for the antitheses of the *Moro Expósito*?

Nor does the regional patriotism of the author ever reach a higher point than in these poems : it is here, most truly of all, that his imagination takes the wings of youth. Santiago is only mentioned; Montserrat is quite vaguely and ideally sketched. A wealth of detail on the other hand, goes into the making of that picture of Granada ²

Magnífico diamante,
Rico joyel de la diadema augusta
Del imperio español ³

To Sevilla Rivas is always returning. The second part of the *Azucena Milagrosa* begins with an apostrophe from abroad, from the city of which it has been said « See Naples and die! » to that which though it has earned a less daring title, was nevertheless to Rivas the sum of beauty :

1. V, 322.

2. V, 227-232.

3. V, 230. The stanza which these lines introduce is Rivas' finest pæan of praise to the city.

Y en Nápoles, en fin, la que en el mundo
 Tanto renombre esclarecido goza;
 A ti, y tan sólo a ti tengo delante,
 Y en ti ¡grata ilusión! mi mente mora ¹.

Compared with the *Romances*, the *Leyendas* are particularly noticeable for their tone of dignified gravity, at times almost of solemnity, and for their almost complete destitution of the element of horror. In Nuño's murder of Blanca, there is a moment's insistence on the repulsive, as the murderer in his frenzy gorges on the blood of his victim ². But it is only a moment before the scene is past, and, the moon gliding behind threatening storm-clouds, all is dark. Elsewhere in the poem, and in the whole of *Maldonado*, there is no scene which can be compared with the gruesomeness of many of the *romances*, though the description of Nuño

Blasfemando de Dios con furia rara,
 Cual pudiera un espíritu infernal ³.

has a touch of the last scene of *Don Alvaro*, which we have already paralleled elsewhere ⁴!

In the last *leyenda* there is one sign of a predisposition

1. V, 256-8.

2. V, 255, ll. 7-10.

Y cébase, cual hiena furibunda,
 En el cadáver con horrible estrago,
 Bañándose frenético en el lago
 De sangre, que el jardín cálida inunda.

3. V, 280, ll. 19-20.

4. The apostrophe of Nuño on being told of his wife's infidelity is another similar touch :

¡Abrete, tierra, a mis plantas
 Y sepúltame voraz!

which strikes the twentieth century reader as strange. From the author's point of view the narrative of the miracle at the war-time Mass is perfectly dignified throughout. But whereas a more modern, and also a mediaeval, poet would have made the supernatural visitants spirits, Rivas strikes a note — perhaps purposely, but more probably through following unconsciously the bent which led him to write *El Fratricidio* — which at once (to our mind) disturbs the majesty of the narrative. He makes the congregation, not disembodied spirits, given objective form to encourage and cheer the celebrant, but the actual remains of those whom they represent. Thus he takes from the reality and beauty of the legend, for by no extension of popular theology can a skeleton be said to assist at a religious service. Presumably the object of the representation is to increase the artistic effect of the fable. Whether it does so is doubtful :

Mas ¡qué concurso, oh Dios! concurso helado
Que ni alienta ni muévase, ni brillo
Muestra en los ojos... Turba de esqueletos...
Vivientes de otro siglo.
¡Esqueletos!... Envueltos en sudarios
Los más : algunos con ropajes ricos
Deslustrados y rotos : muchos visten
Sayal de San Francisco :
Varios, armas mohosas y abolladas :
Algunos, los más altos distintivos;
Y hay de todas edades, sexos, temples,
Sin orden confundidos ¹.

In the *Azucena Milagrosa*, and to a smaller degree in the other two legends, Rivas returns to the artistry of the *Moro Expósito* and his still earlier work. The *Azucena* is a veritable riot of colour. The sunrises and sunsets — especially the

1. V. 425, ll. 3-14.

sunsets — in which Saavedra delighted are renewed in these pages with multiplied effect.

At one point in the history of Rivas' art which we have traced it seemed as though his colour-schemes were likely to become drab and lifeless, and his sunset—and sunrise—images to grow vague and lose themselves in conventional verbosity ¹. But here in *Maldonado* is a picture in which both observation and the imagination of youth have their parts. At every stage in these narratives, in every kind of metre, we find those same brilliant sunrises and sunsets which in the shorter narratives were so conspicuously lacking ². All Nature is

1. It is not, of course, to be supposed that the pink and white beauties do not still invade the narratives, the :

Boca de perlas y rosas,
Ojos de color del cielo (V, 347, ll. 23-4).

The blushing faces

de púrpura ardiente (V, 350, l. 5.)

de púrpura y azufre
Los semblantes se bañaron. (V, 401, ll. 11-12.) Etc., etc.

2. A few characteristic examples may be given to show the variety :

¡Cuántas veces al lúgubre
Morir de hermoso día,
Cuando en vapores férvidos
Su melena envolvía,
Como cadáver pálido
El moribundo sol,
Y de celajes lívidos,
De grana perfilados,
Adornaba la atmósfera,
Tiñendo los nublados
Al ocaso más próximos
De nítido arrebol... (V, 293, ll. 11-12.)

Lento el sol a Occidente descendía,
Su faz velando en vaporosa niebla,

decked in her most gorgeous colours. We may quote the description of Nuño's mountain home :

Al rojo esclarecer de hermoso día,
Principio del verano,
Cuando la aurora abría
La puerta de oro al astro soberano,
Vió Nuño aparecer azul un monte
Aun de nieve vestido,
Allá en el horizonte,
Y dióle el corazón hondo latido.
La sierra es de León ¹...

Or there is the tournament scene of *Maldonado*, which at once suggests a comparison with the tournament scene of *El Paso Honroso*, the similarity of subject being enhanced by the use of the same metre. Comparing only the use of colour (for it would be idle to insist, in point upon point, upon the superior artistry of a poem of 1852 over one of 1812) we find instead of the catalogue of colours, affixed, as it

Que el remoto horizonte confundiendo,
Borró a la vista las cercanas tierras.

Después entre enlutados nubarrones,
Que desde el Sur a sepultarlo vuelan,
Como cadáver que húndese en la tumba
Se hundió, dejando claridad siniestra.

Y al trasmontar las cumbres del ocaso
En una faja lívida y sangrienta,
Un instante mostróse enrojecido
Lanzando al orbe una mirada horrenda. (V, 322-3.)

Tras noche tan solemne, a la mañana,
Cuando el fúlgido sol en el oriente
Sobre celajes nítidos de grana
Alzó con majestad la augusta frente,
De luz la inmensa bóveda del cielo
Inundando, y de luz el bajo suelo... (V, 308, ll. 5-10.)

Cf. also, pp. 242, 276-7; 313-4, 315-6; 379; 403, 416; 419.

1. V, 239.

were mechanically, to the dress of each combatant ¹, a composite picture made more brilliant by the sunlight which floods the canvas ², a procession of knights and their retinues ³. There is more restraint and more art, and the effect is ten times as striking as in the early poem.

Images of light are perhaps less numerous, actually and statistically, than in some of the earlier poems, as they are also in the *Romances*, but they have lost nothing of their brilliance, and in a few of the master passages the art of the poet in this respect is at its height. The passages which describe Sevilla ⁴, Naples ⁵, and Granada ⁶ are among the best known in the collection, and each of them will be found to depend for its effect very largely upon the impression of light which it conveys. It is moonlight, no doubt, as always, which strikes the poet's imagination most vividly of all ⁷, but he can draw inspiration also from the insignificant illumination of a bonfire. The description of the scene in the cathedral square of Badajoz merits quotation :

Arde en su centro rutilante hoguera,
Y sobre su pirámide, que ondula,
De fácil llama, saltan los muchachos,
Con tal audacia, que mirarlo asusta.

1. This is not to speak in exaggerated terms. Cf. Chapter II above, and *El Paso Honroso*, Canto II, stanzas XXXV, XL, XLIV, XLV; Canto III, stanzas XIX, XX, etc.

2. *E. g.* (Vol. V), p. 381, ll. 23-4; p. 382, l. 26; p. 383, l. 13. Note also the images suggested by p. 382, l. 18; p. 383, l. 4; p. 387, l. 2: the Duke never loses his fondness for this device.

3. *E. g.*, V, 383, 384, 386, 389, 390, 392 *passim*. The various images are too numerous to cite in full.

4. V, 256, *passim*.

5. V, 257.

6. V, 227-232.

7. *E. g.*, V, 248-9. Similar passages, or minor studies, will be found on V, 233-4, 242, 251, 255, 263, 270-1, 302-3, 311, 403, 406.

Aquel rojo esplendor la plaza llena,
Refleja del gran templo en las columnas,
En las lejanas torres, en las casas,
En los humanos rostros que circulan;
Y si con viva luz perfila y corta
Cuanto alcanza en redor, sombras oscuras:
Causa también, tan vagas, tan movibles,
Que con formas fantásticas lo abultan ¹.

In such descriptions as these, studied closely, we shall find the highest and boldest development of Rivas' art in his use of the theme of light.

1. V, 405-6. Cf. the following passages in which Rivas plays further on his theme :

Detrás de unos pilares,
Que cortaban de la hoguera
El paso a los resplandores,
Un siniestro grupo forman
Bañado en sombra, tres hombres...

* * *

El uno...
cuando su rostro asoma
Y a la roja luz lo expone,
Bríllanle en dos ojos negros
Dos relámpagos atroces. (Pp. 410-11.)

And, after actually placing his bonfire in the light of the moon, attempts, less happily, to sustain the effect (p. 414, ll. 1-16).

¡En cuántas lucientes joyas,
De las estrellas envidia,
Las antorchas y la luna
Relampaguean y brillan!
¡Cuántos ojos hechiceros
Abraan a los que miran
Con las ardientes vislumbres
De sus alevés pupilas!

Cf. also p. 414, ll. 25-30, to p. 415, ll. 1-2.

CHAPTER VI

Later dramas.

It may well seem an unpardonable anti-climax to descend to Rivas' later dramas after considering in three successive chapters works of so high a quality as the *Moro Expósito*, *Don Alvaro* and the Romances and Legends. Only the great advantage of studying these masterpieces in juxtaposition to each other can be pleaded in extenuation. In the main the five later dramas are reactionary and need detain us but little, though one of them has been robbed of its due in the past, and on it our study of Rivas may fitly close. It must not be forgotten, of course, that all these plays were written by 1843; they are much earlier therefore, in date, than the *Leyendas*, and do not represent a rapid decline in power and skill, as might otherwise be supposed.

If any reader should doubt the contention already made that Rivas' true genius was not best expressed in formal drama, the fact that these plays were written after *Don Alvaro* and before the *Leyendas* should convince him beyond further question. The *Leyendas* show that he was still a Romantic; their dramatic interludes bear testimony to his dramatic powers; but the plays we are now to study make it clear that he had abandoned the Romanticism of the nineteenth century as far as formal drama was concerned. In other words, he carried his Romanticism into the field

which he felt to be his own; in other *genres* he wrote mainly for pastime, and drama was among them.

Unless this is clearly grasped, the temptation is irresistible to look on *Lanuza* and the early plays as perverse « classical » productions, on *Don Alvaro* as Rivas' « great », « typical », « Romantic » drama, and on the later plays as inexplicable returns to drama of the antiquated type, as implicitly rejecting and disowning the very dramatic principles which Rivas had popularised in his greatest play. This is, in our view, a false perspective. The later plays are indeed, in one sense, « antiquated » : they are inspired, that is to say, by various types of seventeenth century drama — which had fallen into disrespect, though it had never entirely disappeared. The construction of each play, the themes, the important part played by the *gracioso*, the devices which facilitate the *desenlace*, — are all Calderonian. But this does not mean that Rivas was leading a crusade with the aim of restoring to the *comedia* the Calderonian model¹; for he more than once made it clear that these later plays were not to be taken seriously. We therefore follow and act upon his own indication.

It would be an exaggeration less dangerous to say that *Lanuza* and the rest are the attempts of a young narrative poet in a *genre* which was not his true medium; that *Don*

1. Though, before *Don Alvaro* was published or played, he said in his *Discurso de Recepción leído en la Real Academia Española* (Oct. 29 1834) : « En el teatro... animados nuestros poetas con el ejemplo de los más insignes de que hoy blasona la Europa culta, veremos revivir los ingenios de Lope, de Calderón, de Moreto, de Alarcón y de Solís. » I do not think, however, that he repented of *Don Alvaro* and tried to lead his future dramas — and through them future drama — back to Calderon, but rather that he never had very strong views on formal drama, and that he took less interest in it still as he grew older.

Alvaro is *sui generis*, and is great historically rather than intrinsically; and that the later dramas are unimportant works, written mainly for relaxation in any style that suited and came easily to him, by a poet who had contributed to his fame by a single drama, but had inaugurated it, kept it fresh, and was still increasing it, in another medium which was truly his own.

1

Solaces de un prisionero. — *El Crisol de la tealtad.* — *La Morisca de Alajuar.* — *El Parador de Bailén.*

Solaces de un prisionero o *Tres noches de Madrid* has a prefatory note, written to disarm criticism, which explains that the play was composed to distract the author during a period of worry and to give pleasure to a few friends of the Liceo de Madrid. Rivas therefore claims that it is entitled to exemption from criticism :

No fué mi intento al emprenderla hacer *un drama histórico* ni *una comedia de costumbres*, ni me propuse pintar una pasión ni retratar un carácter. Tampoco pretendí cumplir con la *alta misión de poeta*, dando lecciones al mundo, y mejorando la sociedad. Nada de esto. Mi intento fué sólo el de ocupar mi imaginación, y el de proporcionar a mis lectores u oyentes un par de horas de honesta diversión y entretenimiento, con lances verosímiles mejor o peor enlazados, con un diálogo claro y agradable, y con los versos más sonoros y fluidos que le es dado producir a mi pobre musa. Si lo consigo, he llenado completamente mi propósito. Y ruego a los críticos de todas las sectas literarias que tengan la bondad de no juzgar esta obra por las reglas que respectivamente profesan, pues no me he sujetado a ninguna al componerla. Júzguenme, pues, solamente por el placer o fastidio que les cause la lectura o la representación de esta comedia.

If we can accept this understanding, we shall probably agree that the story of the escapades of King Francis and King Charles is as diverting as its author intended it to be, that the dialogue, the characterisation and the continual light dramatic irony have the flavour of a Calderonian Cloak-and-Sword *comedia* which is the type of play suggested by the situations. The unities are not strictly kept, it is evident, but there is no flagrant innovation in either time or place; only the occasional changes in metre mark the play as essentially modern, and these are few. There is a good deal of undistinguished conversation which neither advances the action nor contributes anything to the characterisation of the play. This last is indeed conventional : the interest is similar to that of *La Dama Duende* — i. e. it is in the complications caused by the mystery of the nightly visitors and the piquancy of the several situations ¹.

The antithetical nature of the theme reminds us at once of the antithesis in (for example) the *Cromwell* or *Ruy Blas* of Hugo, and we are still more reminded of Hugo's anti-
« monarchical » vocabulary when we hear the king or the emperor talking not only like one of their subjects, but like a buffoon at that :

ALCALDE

¿Quién va a la ronda?... ¿Quién va?
¿Quién va a la ronda?

REY

Ni voy,
Ni vengo, que quieto estoy.

1. The notice in the *Revista Andaluza*, Vol. II, pp. 112-4, referred to above (p. 91), says that it is the best play of the year (? of those played in Sevilla) but censures it « por la falta de acción de que adolece », « lo incompleto de algunos caracteres y en algunos casos por la inverosimilitud de las situaciones ».

ALCALDE

¿Y qué es lo que haciendo está?

REY

Tomando el fresco...

Apart from the absurdly unlikely sequence of events which forms the plot, one feels that this king plays his assumed part too well to be more than a pretender to the throne. Unless he has had long practice in these escapades he must have more than human dramatic skill. A *gracioso* could do no better!

Such criticisms as these may be permitted even in an estimate of the play made with due regard to the author's preface. We must remember, nevertheless, that this play was chosen to represent the dramas of the Duke in the 1894 edition, while *El Desengaño en un Sueño* was omitted, and that it appears also (in company with the latter play) in the editions of 1854 and 1894. This suggests that the author and his son thought better of it later than at the time of its production.

La Morisca de Alajuar, — the story is of a Morisco rebellion in the early seventeenth century — is a very much finer play than the *Solaces*, with several reminiscences of the historical drama of the Golden Age¹. It is also farther from the

1. Few readers, however, would be bold enough to call it, with Pastor Diaz « la producción más acabada y más bella del Duque de Rivas, la más interesante, la de más movimiento y de más preparado desenlace » (Ed. 1894, Vol. I, pp. 81-2). The writer adds : « Los caracteres están de relieve y sostenidos sin desmentirse jamás, sin decaer nunca. El Conde de Salazar es un tipo de los más bellos que puede ofrecer ninguna producción dramática, y hasta la versificación nos parece más igual y más esmeradamente correcta que en las demás obras de su fecunda, pero a veces demasiado fácil y suelta

« rules ». Changes of metre are frequent : not only do stanzas of fixed form break the monotony of the octosyllabic line, but decasyllabic lines are the medium of many speeches. There is no unity either of place or time : several days, for example, elapse between Acts II and III, and the date of the action is given as « a fines del año 1609 y principios del de 1610 ». Stage directions are frequent, and persons are made to enter during the scenes.

The plot is somewhat involved, and the situation so hopeless dramatically when the *desenlace* is approached that the most artificial of tales has to be invented in order that it may end happily. Any reader will see at once that this final situation should have been prepared by earlier events, and this ruins the construction even more surely than does the dragging of the plot previous to the rescue of María by Fernando.

What remains untouched by these faults, however, is of the greatest importance and worth : the strong human interest which attracts the reader and the spectator alike. The anti-Moslem theme had, of course, an appeal less strong in the nineteenth century than in the sixteenth, but this interest is far eclipsed by others. In all centuries there are

vena. » But he says elsewhere that he has not seen the play on the stage — only having heard it read by its author.

Hidalgo's bibliography has the following note, which has interest enough to be reproduced as it stands. It shows at least what an anti-Romantic thought of Rivas' tendencies :

Constante el Sr. Saavedra en el sistema que inauguró tan brillantemente con *D. Alvaro*, quiere presentarnos en la escena romances enteros, con todo su desembarazo y su libertad, y quiere asimismo imitar en todo lo posible los cortes, la disposición, el sistema artístico en fin de nuestros poetas del siglo XVII. No aprobamos nosotros ni la una ni la otra idea; pero debemos confesar que si pudiesen algún día ser las dominantes, a los esfuerzos y al talento del Sr. Duque de Rivas habrían debido su triunfo.

girls whose lovers go away (like Don Fernando) vowing to come back in a year and marry them; in all ranks and among all creeds men are carried away by their passions to take advantage of innocence, and other men will risk their lives to protect it; there are few countries so strong in religious orthodoxy but that girls here and there have to reconcile the creed of a father and the opposed creed of a lover. These are the situations which Rivas handled, if not with consummate skill, at least with sufficient to preserve the attractiveness of the theme.

The *Crisol de la Lealtad* is freed from the trammels of « regular » drama like the *Morisca* : gone are the unities of place and time ; rime alternates with blank verse; the long scenes are divided by the entry of new characters. But the weakness of the plot ¹, the lack of skill in its handling, and the improbabilities, as numerous as in *Don Alvaro* — if the coincidences are fewer, — place the drama far below its immediate predecessor ².

The improbabilities of the whole situation and plot are too patent to need comment. The weakness of the characterisation is all but equally evident. Don Lope, the pretender, is as unconvincing to the reader as he might be expected to have been to his dupes. Don Pedro, the hero, an appealing figure in conception, has none of the attraction, in actual fact, of such a heroic figure as Calderon's Constant Prince. Isabel and the Queen are lay figures; the acute monk, Mauricio, is rather better; but the rest of the characters are negli-

1. The historical background will be found in Mariana (*Historia General de España*: Book XI). But Rivas' immediate source is probably Ruiz de Alarcón's drama *La Crueldad por el Honor*, with which this play has marked (though not verbal) resemblances.

2. Juan Valera (*op. cit.*, p. 174) takes quite a different view, praising the play highly, but giving the slightest reasons in support of his estimate of it.

gible, except Berrio and Sancha, a pair of overboisterous and unattractive *graciosos*.

The tone of the play is one of light comedy, yet a somewhat discordant and more serious strain is frequently heard. The death of Don Lope, for example, is by no means necessary for the plot, which might have been resolved in various other ways. With the author's disregard for his impostor may be contrasted the care which he takes that Berrio may be preserved instead of being poisoned by the wine, as one would have expected, or executed after the prisoner's escape ¹.

A brief mention of *El Parador de Bailén* is sufficient to do it justice. It is as surprising that Rivas could have written such a play ten years after *Don Alvaro* as that he could have written *Tanto vales cuanto tienes* during his residence in Malta. Both are Moratinian comedies, or rather farces, and the *Parador* is more ridiculous and farcical — one had almost said more vulgar — than its predecessor ². The plot is commonplace enough ³. The scene is an inn, where a young

1. Hidalgo, in his Bibliography, praises its many fine situations. He stigmatises much of the play, nevertheless, as « inconducente, descuadernado y hasta a veces inverosímil », adding : « Pero bien pueden perdonarse estos y otros lunares, si lo son, en cambio de las citadas escenas ». On the whole he approves of it, but for what reasons? « Es a nuestros ojos un paso de progreso, hay en ella más interés, más novedad, menos monotonía de duelos, citas y tapadas, *menos afectación de imitar la escuela de Calderón*. Oído el primer acto, o sea jornada, parece que va a desplegarse un drama alemán en toda su extensión de proporciones y su riqueza de afectos e incidentes ». The italics are ours.

2. « Es... indigna de la pluma de nuestro poeta, aunque encierre escenas de gracejo indisputable » (Cañete : Preface to *Obras*, ed. 1854, Vol. I, p. xxxix. Cf. *Escritores españoles*, p. 70) :

« Una comedia de costumbres muy parecida a sainete y no digna de la célebre pluma del duque. » (Ferrer del Rio, *op. cit.*, p. 107.)

3. « La escena es en el parador. La acción empieza a las tres de la tarde, y acaba al amanecer del día siguiente. »

lady from Madrid, Doña Clara, is to meet her cousin, Don Lesmes, of Linares, to whom her father has betrothed her without ever having seen him. In her despair she has written to a gallant captain, Don Fernando, with whom she has fallen in love some time before, and who loves her also, and when the play opens he is awaiting the arrival of Doña Clara and her father at the inn. With the connivance of the hostess he arranges that Doña Clara shall be disguised in a servant-maid's dress in readiness to be carried off in the night. He then makes friends with the ridiculous Don Lesmes, makes him stupidly drunk, introduces him to his future father-in-law at a suitable moment and uses him for his own purposes, disguised as a soldier to make love in his name to the equally foolish old widow Doña Genoveva, who has fallen in love with himself. The attempted elopement is discovered by the father at the wrong (or the right?) moment, and it is hardly necessary to fill in the details or to add that Fernando and Clara receive the paternal blessing¹.

It would be tedious to rehearse any scenes — some of which, such as those of the evening meal (II, 21 ff.) and Doña Genoveva's courtship (III, 16 ff.), are satisfactory enough, and even more, from the standpoint of farce. The characters are either conventional (Don Fernando, Doña Clara, Marta and the servants) or mere caricatures of the best creations of a Molière or a Moratín. The reader may be warned, in fact, from their description in the list of characters, of what he has to expect :

DON LUIS, hombre maduro y severo.

DON LESMES, señorito ridículo de lugar.

DOÑA GENOVEVA, vieja melindrosa y ridícula.

1. This summary is given because the play is less readily available than the remaining ones treated in this section.

The editor of the 1894 edition describes the *Parador de Bailén*, which he proposes to include in the collection, as by no means to be despised, if not of the first order! « No le faltan situaciones cómicas, y el diálogo es chispeante y fácil, y la lengua está manejada con maestría ¹ . » But Cañete, whom the editor quotes as calling the play « una farsa poco digna de la pluma de tan gran poeta ² » knew better, and for ourselves, observing with surprise that the *Parador* does not appear in the collection as advertised, we wonder if Enrique de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, can possibly have changed his mind !.

1. I, p. xi.

2. See Cañete, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

II

El Desengaño en un Sueño. — Its strange omission from the edition of 1894. — Conflicting opinions on its merits. — Plot. — Religious or fatalistic? — Sources. — Debts to Calderón and Shakespeare. — *El Desengaño* as a Romantic drama. — Conclusion.

This study of Rivas' work may be fitly concluded by an examination of *El Desengaño en un Sueño*, one of the least known but undoubtedly most interesting of his plays. Included in both the 1854 and 1884 editions, it was unaccountably omitted from that of 1894. Probably it is the finest of Rivas' plays after *Don Alvaro*, to which, indeed, it is in some respects superior. Both Pacheco¹ and Hartzenbusch², in their respective prefaces to the fourth and fifth volumes of the 1854 edition, acclaim it, Hartzenbusch placing it and *Don Alvaro* together as two of the best dramas

1. El primer drama fantástico de nuestra moderna literatura, comparable en profundidad con lo más profundo que haya salido de Alemania, a la par que revestido con toda la gala poética de Calderón...

The quotation is from the letter (dated Feb. 2 1855) which serves as preface to Volume IV of the collection.

2. El *Don Alvaro* y *El Desengaño en un sueño* me parecen iguales a las mejores que en todo el orbe literario se han publicado en lo que llevamos del siglo presente. (Preface to Vol. V.)

of the century ¹. Cañete called it « la más original y encumbrada obra poética del Duque », and added : « Acaso en ninguna otra de las suyas atesora tan gran número de pensamientos sublimes, versos tan robustos y sonoros, tanta ni tan superior elocuencia ². » Cueto is no less partial in his memorial speech, marking it out with *Don Alvaro* for special notice : « Esta obra es la que tiene carácter más universal entre todas las del Duque de Rivas... Es, en realidad, antes que un drama, una magnífica leyenda fantástica... No desdeciría, por cierto, entre las mejores producciones de Goethe y de Lord Byron ³. » « Leerlo a solas » says Ferrer del Río, « produce deleite y pasmo... Es... un poema fantástico desenvuelto con toda la gala de una fantasía esplendorosa... Es un grandioso cuadro de moral filosófica y de hechicera poesía ⁴.

Valera, on the other hand, dislikes the drama : it is « lleno de un espíritu sofístico y verdaderamente pesimista y fatalista ⁵ ».

El Duque quiso hacer algo como una comedia de magia y de grande aparato, por lo serio; pero mientras que en *Don Alvaro* se

1. The preface is dated June 9 1855, so that, in making the assertion, Hartzenbusch is looking back on over half the century.

2. *Escritores españoles*, p. 71.

Earlier he was even more enthusiastic about the « alteza del pensamiento filosófico que la sublima », « el copioso raudal de poesía que le rinde galas y hechizos ». « Los dos primeros actos, principalmente son, bajo el último concepto, lo más rico y brillante que ha producido la imaginación siempre fértil de nuestro poeta. » (*Obras*, ed. 1854, p. xxxix.) He adds that, with the *Moro* and *Don Alvaro*, the play forms a « Trimurti poética que, bajo formas distintas, aunque una sola en abstracto, revela el pensamiento providencial y cristiano base y fundamento de las obras más notables del Duque de Rivas » (pp. xli-ii).

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 565.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

dejó llevar de su instinto natural sano, e hizo una obra simpática, aquí se dejó llevar, sin caer en la cuenta, de teorías pesimistas a la moda entonces, de un catolicismo viciado que humilla al ser humano mucho más de lo que prescribe la ortodoxia, e hizo una obra falsa y que no puede interesar ¹.

Yet this is the play which Cañete thinks of as conceived in a profoundly Christian spirit ². Evidently there is here a conflict of opinion on the purpose of this play, as there was on the purpose of *Don Alvaro*.

As the *Desengaño en un Sueño* is not included in the standard edition of Rivas' works, it may be well, before attempting to discuss Valera's views, to give a brief summary of the plot. The scene is a « desert island in the Mediterranean », and the hero, Lisardo, is a youth who has been kept in captivity by his father Marcolán, an old magician anxious to shield his only son from the dangers into which unrestricted commerce with the world might lead him. At the outset of the action Lisardo is discovered bewailing his lot, and Marcolán resolves that his son shall taste reality in a dream. He therefore puts him, by his magic, to sleep, and the boy is visited by the genii of Love, Wealth, Power and Evil, in a series of spectacular dream-scenes.

In the first of these Lisardo woos, and is about to marry, a beautiful girl named Zora. But the Genius of Evil appears and causes him to covet wealth. His happiness at once departs until wealth is granted him, whereupon he is made to covet power. He becomes a valiant general, defends the dominions of an Oriental monarch and rides into the capital in triumph. But his evil genius still attends him : greedy for further power, he wins the love of the queen and compasses her lord's murder. From this point his apparent

1. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

2. See p. 539, n. 2 above.

happiness ceases. The fear of unseen foes possesses him; his queen is unfaithful; and he barely escapes from death at the hand of assassins. Learning that Zora, whom he abandoned, has died of a broken heart, he cries out in his bitter remorse, only to learn from Heaven that his end is even now at hand. The next moment sees him in prison, awaiting death for his crimes, when the dream ends, and Marcolán reappears to ask his son if he still wishes to taste the world's experiences. The answer of the youth is not doubtful.

This, then, is the drama which Juan Valera, speaking as loosely as he often did, termed « *verdaderamente pesimista* ». His objection to it is that in the interest of orthodoxy, Lisardo should have been made to reply in the last act to his father : « Far from being disillusioned and wishing to go no more into the world, I wish more fervently than ever to go, but with my free will and the help of Heaven, that I may be able to vanquish the temptations which assault me ¹. »

Such a criticism is undoubtedly justified from the standpoint of orthodoxy, and to have given this ending to the drama would not greatly have affected its construction nor destroyed its unity. But even as it is the play is profoundly moral, and the Christian — even the Romantic — author may surely be forgiven if at times, without departing from

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 187-8. « Podía haber añadido Lisardo, que lejos de estar desengañado y de no querer ya ir al mundo, quería con más fervor que nunca ir a él, a fin de probar a su padre y a cuantos de él dudaron, que, despierto y en el pleno uso de sus facultades no sería él ni traidor, ni ingrato, ni asesino, y que, con su libre albedrío y el auxilio del cielo, sabría combatir y triunfar de todas las tentaciones y de todas las malas pasiones, cuya maldad sin límite, y cuya perversidad indómita también negaba, hasta cuando carecen del freno con que la voluntad las contiene y doma, y de la rienda con que la razón las dirige. »

Christian morality, he bases his plays on non-Christian philosophy and theology. It is the tone of the play which makes Cañete place it with the *Moro Expósito* and *Don Alvaro* as the third work of a trilogy revealing Providential and Christian ideas, and, although it may be admitted without discussion that this language needs to be modified, the view more nearly represents the truth than does the invective of Juan Valera.

The truth is that the Duque de Rivas has freed himself altogether in this play from the shackles of religious convention, which he respected in practically all his other work, and which impeded the development of the general design of *Don Alvaro*, as we have seen. In the sense that a conception of Destiny is substituted for that of the Christian Deity and adhered to throughout the play, *El Desengaño en un Sueño* is undoubtedly « fatalistic », though not « pessimistic » for that reason. From the opening lines of the play Destiny rules supreme¹. When Lisardo sleeps, his father calls on the powers of Heaven and Hell:

I. Act I, Scene I.

LISARDO

Y es ¡oh destino impío!
Cárcel estrecha de mi ardiente brío.

*
* *

MARCOLÁN

Es mi anhelo salvar a mi hijo amado
De las borrascas que en la humana vida
Le tienen las estrellas prevenida,
Y él su opresor me llama, despechado.

*
* *

LISARDO

Si condenado nací
Y sin esperanza alguna...

Genios del bien y el mal, que los destinos
Por ocultos caminos
Dirigís de los míseros mortales ¹.

Just as before his dream began the youth had thought of himself as « born under an evil star ² », so, after usurping the throne, he tells his Queen that it is « Destiny » which has put the burden of the throne upon his shoulders ³, and the Queen reciprocates, speaking of the height to which his « star » has raised him ⁴. He wonders why his Destiny did not place him in a royal cradle ⁵, whether man can be the

Si tal mi destino fué,
Que es imposible lo fuera,
¿Para qué un alma tan fiera
Dentro de mi pecho hallé?

LISARDO

Si tal mi destino fué
Cúmplase pronto.

1. Act I, Scene I.

2. ¡Pobre Lisardo, nacido
Bajo estrella tan impía! (Act I, Scene II.)

3. Act III, Scene I.

Contemplaba, amada esposa,
El gran peso que el destino
Ha colocado en mis hombros.

4. *Ibid.*

... la altura
Do tu estrella y mi cariño
Te han colocado...

5. Act III, Scene II.

El destino
Me negó el que naciera en regia cuna...

sport of some incomprehensible power ¹, if man's destiny is to commit crime ². So when he has escaped from the regal feast, he exclaims :

Aquí del mundo
De crímenes, tornando
Al de placer y amor, el furibundo
Rigor de mi destino iré amansando ³.

And when he is attacked after the disappearance of the Angel, he cries, in what may be his last moment :

Huyamos, si un camino
Aun me guarda piadoso mi destino.

*
*
*

¡No le hay — sólo la muerte!
Cúmplase pronto mi tremenda suerte ⁴.

At the end of the dream Marcolán conjures the spirits by the same invocation as he had used earlier, though one is left wondering what exactly « Destiny » can be, since the magician claims to control the spirits of good and evil ⁵,

1. *Ibid.* ¿ Es el hombre, santo cielo,
 Juguete de otro poder
 Que no alcanza a comprender?
 ¡Qué horror da, qué desconsuelo
 Pensar que así pueda ser!

2. Act III, Scene iv.
 Un asesino soy — ¡¡¡ Un asesino!!!
 ¿ Es de los hombres el destino horrendo
 El de ser criminales? — ¡Infelices! —
 ¡Miserable condición en que nacemos!

3. Act IV, Scene i.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Pues que ya obedecisteis mi conjuro,
 Alejáos de este escollo en el momento.

who themselves are said to shape the fates of wretched mortals.

The originality of the play is somewhat impaired by many reminiscences from native and from foreign literature. The underlying idea of a moral lesson being learnt through a dream brought about by the arts of a magician is of course Oriental, and its various modes of expression are too numerous to be described. One of the first of these in Spanish literature is the story of D. Illán in the *Conde Lucanor*, which, however, has hardly any resemblance to Rivas' play, though Cañete ¹, attracted to it presumably by the characters of D. Illán and his son, gives it by implication a part in the evolution of *El Desengaño en un Sueño*. Cañizares' « Comedia famosa » *Don Juan de Espina en su patria*, also mentioned by Cañete ² as having a resemblance with this play, is utterly unlike it in spirit, as in plot. The principal figure, Don Juan de Espina, « grandísimo embustero », cannot be compared with the grave Marcolán, and the few points of character and situation which are not dissimilar are quite unimportant ³.

The author's debt to *La Vida es Sueño*, suggested by his title, is not very marked except in the opening scene, where Lisardo soliloquises in a fashion as like to that of Segismundo as the situations of the two are alike. Both complain of their loneliness :

SEGISMUNDO

Desde que nací
(Si esto es nacer) sólo advierto
Este rústico desierto,
Donde miserable vivo.

LISARDO

¿ Es vida, ¡ triste de mí !
Es vida, ¡ cielos ! acaso
Aquesta vida que paso
Con sólo mi padre aquí ?

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

3. *E. g.*, the « play within a play » in Act I, where an actor is crowned as Alexander the Great; the supernatural personages and scenic effects; perhaps also in some degree, Cañizares' *Laura*. But none of these need be more than chance resemblances.

Both feel their very souls striving against their captivity :

¿ Y teniendo yo más a'ma,
Tengo menos libertad?

¿ Para qué un alma tan fiera
Dentro de mi pecho hallé?

Both compare their lots with those of brute beasts, and the comparison is not unnatural, since Segismundo is clothed « en traje de fiera » and Lisardo « vestido de pieles y con aspecto de salvaje ». Here the similarities end.

A much more likely Spanish source than any of these is a certain « gran comedia de magia » called *Sueños hay que lecciones son, o Efectos del desengaño*, which was extremely popular, both in Madrid and the provinces, at about the time this play was written ¹. A crude and second-rate prose comedy, it is like Rivas' play not only in the use of tableaux, the artificial dream-scenes, and the mingling of abstract with human characters, but also in the general nature of the plot.

The central figure is a shepherd named Darcilo, who has left his rustic home, Teresa his wife and his little son Eurilo, for the attractions of town life, which have captivated him. A pilgrim prophesies to Teresa, who is mourning her lot, that before the new day breaks her husband will have repented of his folly ². When Darcilo returns, preparatorily to leaving his family again for ever, the pilgrim puts him to sleep by magic, and the dream-scenes begin.

We are in the palace of « Otón » (Otho). Before us are

1. I am ignorant of the exact date of the play. The copy which I have seen, in the University Library, Valencia, bears the date 1808, and has the following title-page :

Sueños hay que lecciones son, || o efectos del desengaño. || Drama alegórico en cinco actos || Refundido por D. M. A. Igual. || Representada en el Coliseo de la Cruz de esta Corte. ||

2. Among the platitudes which he utters is this :

« Cuanto sucede en el mundo es un sueño... Hoy nacemos, mañana morimos. »

Merit. an old man in rags, and Fortune, in grand array, who promises Darcilo to lead him to success. He accepts, and straightway the Princess Rosamund falls in love with Darcilo, who wins her hand in a tourney and is rewarded by Otho with a ducal sword and princely diadem. Grandees do him homage, shortly he is to marry Rosamund — but the shades of Teresa and Eurilo appear and only by an effort can he persist in his resolve to abandon them.

The scene changes to the Temple of Happiness, where all is prepared for the marriage. In spite of all the royal array Rosamund is sad, for her lover seems strangely altered. Then we see Pride, dagger in hand, dragging Teresa and Eurilo to the altar of sacrifice. The story of Darcilo's desertion is told, and Rosamund, horror-stricken, leaves the Temple with her father.

Darcilo is driven from the palace and has to fly for his very life. At this point he awakens. He is in his home with his family and the Pilgrim. « ¡Un Dios fué el que me condujo en sueños! » he cries. His repentance is decisive; he embraces his wife and son, and the play concludes with a dance.

Both on internal and external evidence it seems probable, though (considering the number of dream-plays extant) by no means certain, that Rivas used this comedy as the basis of his own. But he embellished his original very greatly by his imaginative faculty, and also by borrowings from English literature, — notably Shakespeare — the extent of which has not before been realised.

The play might well represent the fruits of Rivas' Shakespearean reading, — especially his reading of *The Tempest*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, so numerous and so striking are the passages which suggest borrowing. The play recalls *The Tempest* at least as much as *La Vida es Sueño*. The scene of *El Desengaño en un Sueño*, as of *The Tem-*

pest, is a lonely island; the Prospero-like Marcolán is a magician; his son, like Prospero's daughter, has spent all his life on the island with him. It is the magical powers of each father which cause and control the entire action of the play : Marcolán rules from his *gruta* as Prospero does from his « cell »¹.

Both plays open in a storm; and as in Shakespeare « a tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning » is heard, so in Rivas « se verán relámpagos y se oirán truenos »². Lisardo, who in the first scene has something of Caliban's aspect³, is put to sleep, at the beginning of the play, by his father's magic, exactly as Miranda is in Shakespeare⁴. Zora is the first woman whom Lisardo has seen, as Ferdinand gives Miranda all but her first sight of a man⁵. Each exclaims at the vision, using similar words :

1. *Tempest*, I, II.

2. Stage directions to I, I of each play.

3. He is « vestido de pieles y con aspecto de salvaje ». (I, I).

4. *Tempest*, I, II :

PROSPERO

Thou art inclined to sleep; 'tis a good dulness,
And give it way : I know thou canst not choose.

(*Miranda sleeps.*)

Desengaño, I, I :

LISARDO

Reposaré.

MARCOLAN

Sí hijo mío (*aparte*)
Ya empieza el conjuro a obrar.
Le tocaré con la vara
Y al sueño se rendirá...
En sueño profundo está.

5. *I. e.* except her father and Caliban (I, II, 444-5).

MIRANDA

LISARDO

What is't? a spirit?	...¿Qué es?... ¡oh Dios!... lo que
Lord, how it looks about! Be-	[allí veo?
[lieve me, sir,	¡Una mujer!...
It carries a brave form ¹ .	... gallarda y bella ² ...

The recognition in each play is followed by a love-scene — for the two at once fall in love — and Zora's father blesses the impending union, as Miranda's father does at a later stage of the *Tempest*. The blessing, in each play, however, is conditional ³. At the end of Rivas' scene there is something resembling the rustic Masque of the *Tempest* which follows the betrothal : the later is surely inspired by the earlier :

Enter certain Reapers, properly habited : they join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance, etc. ⁴ .	Salen por un lado y otro una tropa de salvajes y de sílfidos que bailan en derredor (de Lisardo y Zora ⁵).
--	--

A number of verbal and other minor resemblances makes it morally certain that the *Tempest* is Rivas' primary inspiration ⁶.

1. *Tempest*, I, II.

2. *Desengaño*, I, II.

3. *Tempest*, IV, I, *Desengaño*, I, II. Ferdinand is to respect Miranda's virginity till the marriage is over; Lisardo is to fulfil his « sacred obligations ».

4. *Tempest*, IV, I.

5. *Desengaño*, I, II.

6. I append a number, three of which I owe to a former pupil, Miss Emily Greenwood. Some may of course be fortuitous resemblances, but most seem genuine borrowings :

(a) The magic banquet in the *Tempest* (III, III), which afterwards disappears, together with Ariel, by a « quaint device »; the witch's throne, which first appears, and later vanishes « por escotillón » together with the witch and her train.

Lisardo's discovery that Zora has died of her love for him takes us to *Hamlet*, and we see in Act IV, Scene 1, where

(b) The « glistening apparel » brought in by Ariel (IV, 1); the « magníficas ropas » brought in by pages for Lisardo and Zora (I, III).

(c) Towards the end of each play :

PROSPERO

Now does my project gather to a head... (V, 1.)

MARCOLÁN

El conjuro está cumplido. (IV, II.)

(d) The apostrophes of the magicians to the spirits :

PROSPERO

Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,

... this rough magic

I here abjure

I'll break my staff,

Bury it certain fathoms in the earth

And deeper than did ever plummet sound

I'll drown my book. (V, 1.)

MARCOLÁN

Espíritus celestes e infernales

Alejaos de este escollo en el momento,

Y a la región del viento,

Tornad, o de la tierra al centro oscuro. (IV, II.)

(e) The noise of hunters and the entry of spirits in the shape of dogs and hounds » (*Tempest*, IV, 1); the « cuerno de caza », « ladridos » and « perros de caza » of *Desengaño*, I, II.

(f) The awakening of Shakespeare's courtiers and sailors to a « happy ending » suggests the similar awakening of Lisardo.

Lisardo meets the funeral procession, a reminiscence of the beginning of the last act in Shakespeare. Lisardo, like Hamlet, talks with the gravedigger, endeavours to enter his love's grave (though in different fashion) and declares his love for the dead girl.

Even before that point there have been suggestions (and hardly less noticeable ones) of *Hamlet*. The rejection of Zora by Lisardo ¹ is almost as merciless in its deliberateness as the far bolder and finer scene in which Hamlet mocks Ophelia ², and the only likely influence of Shakespeare here is seen in the idea of detailing the dialogue at length. But the celebrated « play-scene ³ » is surely mirrored in the crime ⁴ which ends Rivas' second act, and which it will be sufficient to record in his words:

LISARDO

¡Basta, volemós!

Se hunde el trono por el escotillón por donde salió, y se descubre en el espacio que ocupaba una ancha puerta; y dentro al rey dormido en un magnífico lecho de púrpura, a la luz de una lámpara. Todo el teatro estará oscuro, menos la alcoba.

REINA

(Dándole un puñal y señalándole al rey.)

¡Allí está todo, Lisardo!

(Lisardo titubea horrorizado. La reina lo empuja, y él se arroja decidido, enarbolando el puñal, y cae el telón.)

In each play the queen plays a part (active or passive) in her husband's murder and afterwards marries his murderer.

1. *Desengaño*, II, II.

2. *Hamlet*, III, I.

3. *Hamlet*, III, II.

4. *Desengaño*, II, II.

The queen's incitements to Lisardo, which culminate in her giving him the dagger, are suggestive rather of *Macbeth* than of *Hamlet*. She chastises him with the valour of her tongue, not indeed in identical, but at least in similar terms :

¿Qué turbación te agita ¹ ?	What, quite unmann'd in folly ² ?
¿Pero tiemblas?	You mar all with this starting ³ !
	Art thou afeard
Sí, tiemblas. ¿Acaso	To be the same in thine own act
El valor te falta ⁴ ?	[and valour
	As thou art in desire ⁵ ?

Her reply to Lisardo's « ¡Dormido! »

Dormido. Y es necesario
Que en la eternidad despierte ⁶.

recalls the famous « If we should fail?... We fail ⁷ » in its calm confidence, and in its verbal expression the equally well-known

LADY

And when goes hence?

MACBETH

To-morrow, as he purposes.

LADY

O never
Shall sun that morrow see ⁸!

-
1. *Desengaño*, II, II.
 2. *Macbeth*, III, III.
 3. *Macbeth*, V, I.
 4. *Desengaño*, II, II.
 5. *Macbeth*, I, VII.
 6. *Desengaño*, II, II.
 7. *Macbeth*, I, VII.
 8. *Macbeth*, I, V.

The drugging of the grooms is a preparatory precaution,
for each king is murdered in his sleep

When Duncan is asleep

* * *

his two chamberlains
Will I with wine and wassail
so convince
That memory, the warder of the
[brain,
Shall be a fume, and the receipt
A limbeck only ¹. [of reason

Voy a preparar el golpe,
A sosegar el palacio,
A adormecer a las guardias,
A alejar los cortesanos,
Y tornaré en busca tuya ².

If all this is noteworthy, however, much more so is the
dialogue between Lisardo and the queen after the deed is
done. There is Shakespeare in almost every line :

REINA : Nadie, nadie sospechó
Que el golpe que allí te ha puesto,
Fué de tu mano, o muy presto,
Si hubo sospecha, pasó ³.

LISARDO (*Confuso*) : ¿De mi mano ⁴? Sí, lo fué.

REINA : Deja esos recuerdos vanos ⁵.
Rendidos los cortesanos
Vendrán a besarla ⁶.

1. *Macbeth*, I, VII.

2. *Desengaño*, II, II.

3. Cf. the tenour of *Macbeth*, III, II.

4. See note 2 on next page.

5. II, II. Consider it not so deeply.

* * *

These deeds must not be thought
After these ways...

6. III, III. My worthy lord,
Your noble friends do lack you.

« golden opinions » by his bravery ¹, and that among others the king whom he is later to murder lavishes praises upon him ².

1. *Desengaño*, II, 1 :

GUERRERO

¡Viva nuestro general,
El valeroso Lisardo!

UNO DEL PUEBLO

Defendiéndonos gallardo
Adquirió nombre inmortal.

TODOS

¡Viva nuestro general!

This strain continues throughout the scene. Cf. *Macbeth*, I, II, *passim*.

Brave Macbeth — well he deserves that name —

* * *

O valiant cousin, worthy gentleman!

* * *

Bellona's bridegroom...

* * *

Noble Macbeth,

* * *

He is full so valiant
And in his commendations I am fed;
It is a banquet to me

* * *

It is a peerless kinsman.

2. Cf. note 1 above (most of the commendations being Duncan's with *Desengaño*, Act. II, Scene II, *passim*).

Only less noticeable are the unseen dagger spoken of by the Evil Genius in the same scene ¹; the reproaches which the Queen directs to Lisardo *after* the murder ²; the royal feast which follows the accession of Lisardo ³; the appearance of the witch to Lisardo after his crime ⁴; and the passing across the stage of the spectre of the murdered King. The last is distinctly like the appearance of the « blood-bolter'd Banquo » :

Sale rápidamente por escotillón el espectro del rey con manto y corona, y mostrándole el pecho herido y brotando sangre.

REY

¡Traidor, yo te protegí
Y me distes este pago! (Húndese.)

I.

LISARDO

Mi poder es colosal.
Toda envidia se desarme.
¿Quién puede de aquí arrancarme?

(Suená bajo el tablado la Voz del Genio del Mal.)

De un asesino el puñal.

LISARDO *(Bajando precipitado del trono, con la mayor agitación).*

¡Cielos! — ¿Qué idea de horror
Me confunde de repente?... etc. (III, 1. Cf. *Macbeth*, II, 1.)

2.

REINA

¿Qué os aqueja? — ¿Qué os asusta?
¿Por qué de repente os miro
Tan turbado? etc. (III, 1. Cf. *Macbeth*, III, 11, IV.)

3. III, v, and mentioned also in preceding scenes of the act. Cf. *Macbeth* III, IV. In each the new king is surrounded by nobles who as yet have no suspicion of the treachery which won him the throne.

4. III, 11. As in Shakespeare (IV. 1) the witch prophesies « un apuro Terrible y duro ».

LISARDO (*Pasmado de terror*).

¿Qué han visto mis ojos? ¡Ah! —
¡Qué visión tan espantable!
Y yo, ¡cuán abominable
Me miro y contemplo ya !!

Other possible Shakespearean reminiscences are the speech of Lisardo about the weight of his crown, which might have been inspired by Prince Henry's well-known apostrophe¹, and the numerous references to Lisardo's lust for power, which are so strong as rather to suggest to the reader the characters of Marlowe or the chief personage of Goethe's *Faust*.

The charm of the play does not lie solely in its dramatic qualities. The tone of lofty morality which pervades it, contrasting with the fairy-like surroundings and the attractiveness and variety of its scenery, are responsible for the interest which it has for the reader, and for the peculiar favour with which it was regarded by its author². The atmosphere of the dream-scene is wonderfully true to experience; one such scene succeeds another in the inconsequent way peculiar to dreamland; the author leaves unmade a score of explanations and a hundred questions of critics unanswered. In the vagueness and mistiness of these dream-scenes, too, the play is essentially the work of a Romantic.

Other Romantic effects abound. The metres³ show a variety which compensates for the lack of prose; the love of striking scenes and of action on the stage is indulged without difficulty on account of the peculiar plan of the drama; the elaborate stage directions are very noticeable. The plot is

1. IV, II. Cf. *Macbeth*, IV, 1.

2. 2 *Henry IV*, IV, IV, 21 ff. This is not, however, a play which one would suppose Rivas to have read.

3. See Appendix II.

supposed to take place « a mediados del siglo XIV »; but, as the mention of the epoch at the beginning of the play is made to imply, this fact is only of importance in so far as it concerns the costumes¹. As in the *Tempest*, the unities of time and place are observed², but the nature of the play makes them meaningless, since the dream plot roams from one scene to another as dreams will.

It remains to be noted that this « fantastic drama » has no well-marked dramatic construction. It is more nearly akin to a succession of tableaux (the love for which, as we have seen, was a feature of Rivas' dramatic genius), than is any other of his plays. This is not the only production in which he sought to free himself from the restrictions of orthodox drama, and though he succeeds here less than in the Romances and Legends (since the play which he produced is exceedingly difficult to stage), few will prefer before it any other of his dramas than *Don Alvaro*.

The story of Rivas' career as a dramatist has, it is true, only too well-marked an element of bathos, but at least it may be said that this, among his later dramas, is not unworthy of one who was a painter and a narrative poet by temperament and talent, and a dramatist by the not unhappy influence of circumstances.

E. ALLISON PEERS.

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1. La acción... se supone para los trajes acaecida a mediados del siglo XIV.

2. (La acción) pasa en un islote desierto del Mediterráneo. Empieza al ponerse el sol y concluye al amanecer del día siguiente.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following Bibliography comprises the principal works which I have consulted in preparing the preceding study. Names of current books of reference — encyclopaedias, histories of literature, etc , — are not included, nor any book or article which has been consulted only to ascertain some minor detail or is quite ephemeral in nature. My object is to give a serviceable list of authorities for the use of future students of Rivas' work. More detailed references will be found in the notes on the text.

I. Works of Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas.

II. Translations of the same.

III. Commentaries and critical estimates of value.

I.

WORKS OF ANGEL DE SAAVEDRA, DUQUE DE RIVAS

(The title-pages are reproduced of the principal works only.)

1814. Poesias de Don Angel de Saavedra, Remirez de Baquedano. Cadiz : 1814. Imprenta Patriótica. A cargo de D. Ramon Hovve, pp. 123.

(The rare first edition, to be found in the University Library of Sevilla.)

1816. Aliatar, Tragedia en cinco actos, de D. Angel de Saavedra, Remirez de Baquedano. Representada por primera vez en el teatro de esta ciudad el dia 8 de Julio del presente año. Sevilla : Imprenta de Caro, 1816.

(Rare : I have seen two copies, both in the Biblioteca Municipal, Madrid.)

1820-1. (H. T.) Poesias de Saavedra. (Facing T. : engraving of the author.) (T.) Poesias de Don Angel de Saavedra, Remirez de Baquedano. Segunda edicion, corregida y aumentada. Tomo Primero. Madrid : Imprenta de I. Sancha, 1820. Vol. II has no H. T.; similar T. but with «Tomo segundo» and «1821», pp. 231 + 308.

1830. Corona fúnebre en honor de la excelentísima Sra. Doña María de la Piedad Roca de Togores, duquesa de Frías y de Uceda, marquesa de Villena, etc., etc. Madrid, 1830, imp. de E. Aguado, lib. de *La Publicidad*.

1834. El Moro Expósito, o Córdoba y Burgos en el siglo décimo, leyenda en doce romances por Don Angel de Saavedra. En un apéndice se añaden la Florinda y algunas otras composiciones inéditas del mismo autor. Paris, en la librería hispano-americana de la Calle de Richelieu, No. 60, 1834. 2 tom., pp. 462 + 498.

(Contains also *Florinda*, with some Romances and Lyrics.

1835. (H. T.) D. Alvaro ó la Fuerza del Sino (T.) D. Alvaro ó la Fuerza del Sino. Drama original en cinco jornadas, y en prosa y verso, de Don Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas (Fig.) Madrid : Imprenta de Don Tomas Jordan, 1835, pp. 119.

[Back of H. T. : Este drama es propiedad de D. Tomás Jordan, y se hallará de venta en su librería y almacén de papel, Puerta del Sol, acera de la Soledad, número 3, frente á la fuente, á 8rs. en rústica.

This edition, which forms part of Vol. II of *Galería dramática*, is not rare, but an interesting acting copy is to be found in the Biblioteca Municipal, Madrid, with manuscript *acotaciones* changing the number of minor characters, altering or adding to stage directions, assigning minor parts to different persons, and expurgating the text.

On p. 119 of the edition are found the following « notes » :

Los trages son los que se usaban a mediados del siglo pasado.

Si no hubiese bastantes actores, puede uno mismo ejecutar dos o tres de los personajes subalternos que solo figuran en distintas jornadas.

Si por la mala disposicion de nuestros escenarios no se pudiese cambiar a la vista la decoración de la segunda jornada, se echará momentáneamente un telón supletorio que represente una áspera montaña de noche.

Este drama se estrenó en Madrid en el teatro del Príncipe la noche del día 22 de marzo de 1835; desempeñando los principales papeles la señora Concepcion Rodriguez, y los señores Luna, Romeas, Lopez, etc.

In the Biblioteca Municipal, Madrid, there are also three manuscript copies of *Don Alvaro*, two apparently copies of the 1835 edition, and a third probably of that of 1839. All three copies have a number of variations from the printed text, having, it would seem, been made for acting purposes.)

1838. Discursos pronunciados en el Senado por los señores duque de Rivas, Marqués de Miraflores y Obispo de Córdoba en las sesiones de los días 1º y 2º de marzo de 1838. Madrid, Imprenta de la Compañía Tipográfica, lib. de Bailly-Bailliere, 1838, pp. 56.

(Not common. A copy may be seen in the Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, Santander.)

1839. D. Alvaro ó la Fuerza del Sino, drama original en 5 jornadas y en prosa y verso, de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. Madrid : en la imprenta de Yenes, Calle de Segovia, núm. 6, 1839, pp. 100.

(The only copy of this edition which I have seen is in the Biblioteca Municipal, Madrid, where it is bound up with some other plays in a « Colección de Comedias ». It lacks the dedicatory preface which is found in the 1835 edition.)

1840. Tanto vales cuanto tienes, comedia en tres actos y en verso de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. (Fig.) Madrid, Imprenta de Repullés. 1840, pp. 123.

(In Vol. XXV of *Galería dramática : Colección de las mejores obras del teatro moderno español*. This is presumably the volume entered by Hidalgo as « Madrid, lib. de Cuesta, 1840 »; the volumes of the *Galería dramática* were published by the Librerías de Escamilla y Cuesta, though their imprint does not appear on the title-page of every play, but on the collective title-page of each volume only.)

1841. Romances históricos de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. Paris, Librería de Vicente Salvá, Calle de Lille, N° 4, 1841, pp. 502.

1841. Romances históricos de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. Madrid, 1841. Imprenta de D. Vicente de Lalama, Calle de las Huertas, núm. 8, pp. xxxv + 470.

1841. La Morisca de Alajuar, comedia en tres jornadas de Don Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. Madrid : en la imprenta de Yenes, Calle de Segovia, núm. 6, 1841.

(In Vol. XXX of *Galería dramática*.)

1841. Solaces de un Prisionero, ó Tres Noches de Madrid. Comedia en tres jornadas compuesta para el Liceo Artístico y Literario de Madrid, por Don Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. (Fig.) Madrid : en la imprenta de Yenes, Calle de Segovia, núm. 6, 1841, pp. 100.

(In Vol. XXVI of *Galería dramática*.)

1842. El Crisol de la Lealtad. Comedia en tres jornadas, original de Don Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas (Fig.). Madrid, Imprenta de Repullés, 1842, pp. 103.

(In Vol. XXXVII of *Galería dramática*.)

1844. El Desengaño en un Sueño. Drama fantástico en cuatro actos, original (*sic*) de Don Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. (Fig.) Madrid, Imprenta de D. José Repullés, Agosto de 1844, pp. 105.

(In Vol. LIV of *Galería dramática*.)

1844. El Parador de Bailen. Comedia en tres actos y en verso de Don Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. Madrid. Imprenta de D. José Repullés, Setiembre de 1844, pp. 102.

(In Vol. LV of *Galería dramática*.)

1844. In *Revista de España y del Extranjero*, Vol. IX, 1844. (a) « Viaje a las ruinas de Peste » (dated from Naples, May 30 1844), pp. 145-167; (b) « Viaje al Vesubio », undated, pp. 333-349.

1848. (H. T.) Sublevacion de Napoles, el ano 1647. (T.) Sublevacion de Napoles capitaneada por Masanielo, con sus antecedentes y consecuencias hasta el restablecimiento del gobierno español. Estudio histórico de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. (Epigraph.) Tomo Primero. Madrid, Imprenta de La Publicidad, a cargo de M. Rivadeneyra, Calle de Jesus del Valle, núm. 6, 1848. (Vol. II has similar title-page,) pp. 294 + 231.

1851. El Crepúsculo de la tarde, versos de Don Angel Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. La Azucena Milagrosa, leyenda por el mismo autor, edicion adornada con 14 grabados dibujados por Don Vicente Urrabieta, grabados por Murcia, Vierge, Moedo, Carnicero, Burgos, Coderch, Severini y Cruz. Regalo a los suscritores a *Las Novedades* que lo sean al menos por seis meses antes del 1º de enero de 1852. Madrid, Imprenta del Semanario Pintoresco Español y de La Ilustración, a cargo de D. G. Alhambra, Jacometrezo, 26. 1851, pp. 51.

(There seems to have been also another edition of these poems [? pirated] in the same year, but I have not been able to see it or find more details than those given by Cañete [*op. cit.*, *infra*, p. 92].

1854-5. Obras completas de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, de la Real Academia Española, corregidas por él mismo. Tomo I, Poesías sueltas y poemas cortos. Madrid, Imprenta de la Biblioteca Nueva, Calle de las Infantas, núm. 17. 1854.

(Vol. I, has Prologue by Cañete; Life of Rivas by « N. P. D. », to 1842, with continuation to date by « M*** »; Poesías sueltas; El Paso Honroso, poema; Florinda, poema. Vol. II has Moro Expósito, with author's letter to Frere, and prologue by « A. A. G. » « escrito a nombre del autor »; Vol. III contains Romances históricos [with author's prologue as preface]; La Azucena Milagrosa, leyenda; Maldonado, leyenda; El Aniversario, leyenda; Vol. IV begins with a letter by Pacheco to Rivas, and contains Tanto vales cuanto tienes, comedia; Don Alvaro o la Fuerza del Sino, drama; Solaces de un prisionero o Tres noches de Madrid, comedia; La Morisca de Alajuar, comedia; El Crisol de la lealtad, drama; El Desengaño en un Sueño, drama fantástico. Vol. V, with a long preface by J. E. H., contains La Sublevación de Nápoles, etc.; Breve Reseña de la Historia del Reino de las dos Sicilias; otras composiciones breves.)

1854. In *Reyes Contemporáneos, Compendio histórico-filosófico de todas las monarquías* (Madrid, 1854), Vol. III, pp. 609-670, « Dos Sicilias » por el Duque de Rivas.

1857. Don Alvaro o la Fuerza del Sino. Drama original en cinco jornadas, en prosa y verso, por D. Angel de Saavedra, duque de Rivas. Madrid, 1857, imp. de C. Lopez, lib. de Cuesta. En 8º mayor.

(From Hidalgo, Vol. II, p. 335, who adds : « Este drama ha sido aprobado para su representación por la junta de censura de los teatros del Reino en 19 de abril de 1849. » I have not seen the edition.)

1857. Introduction to *Obras poéticas de Bernardino Fernández de Velasco, Duque de Frías*, Madrid, 1857.

1858. Discursos leídos en las sesiones públicas, que para dar posesión de plazas de número ha celebrado desde

1852 la Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid, 1858.

(Includes Rivas' *Discurso de recepción* : « Sobre la utilidad e importancia del estudio de la historia y sobre el acierto con que la promueve la Academia », together with Martínez de la Rosa's reply (April 24 1853.)

1860. In *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública de Don C. Nocedal*, Madrid, 1860, is the « reply » of the Duque de Rivas.

1862. Prologue to *La Famille Alvareda*, by Fernán Caballero.

1874. Algunos poesías familiares (A mi esposa — Al Sr. D. Salustiano de Olózaga — A Dido abandonada — Epístola) in *Album Poético Español*, Madrid, 1874, pp. 377-386.

1880 (?). *Romances históricos de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas*. Madrid, 1880 (?). 2 vol., pp. 174 + 142.

(The date is not clear. I have only seen one copy of this edition, which is in the library of the Duque de T'Serclaes. It contains seventeen of the *Romances*, with two lyrics : 'La Catedral de Sevilla' and 'En el hospital de Baza'. The title-page indicates that the edition was part of the *Biblioteca de la Correspondencia de España* and presented gratuitously to the subscribers to that journal.)

1881. *Sublevación de Nápoles, capitaneada por Masanielo*, Madrid, Victor Saiz, 1881.

(Preceded by an « Estudio histórico del Duque de Rivas ». Part of the *Biblioteca Clásica*.)

1882. Don Alvaro, o la Fuerza del Sino, in *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos* (ed. Novo y Colsón, Vol. I, pp. 1-79). Madrid, 1882.

(Edited by Manuel Cañete, with a biographical and critical notice, later incorporated in its author's longer study of 1884.)

1884-5. Obras completas de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, de la Real Academia Española, Ilustradas con dibujos de D. Apeles Mestres. Tomo primero. (Fig.) Barcelona, Montaner y Simon, Editores, Calle de Aragon, Números 309 y 311, 1884. 2 vol.; Vol. I, pp. xviii + 430; Vol. II (dated 1885 and adding 'Director que fué de la Real Academia Española'), pp. 527.

(Contents : Vol. I, Prólogo (Manuel Cañete) and Vida del autor hasta el año de 1842 (Nicomedes Pastor Diaz), both as in the edition of 1854-5. — Poesías Sueltas y Poemas Cortos — El Moro Expósito.)

(Vol. II, Romances históricos [preceded by the author's prologue printed in the first edition]. — Leyendas. — Tanto vales cuanto tienes. — Don Alvaro. — Solaces de un Prisionero. — La Morisca de Alajuar. — El Crisol de la Lealtad. — El Desengaño en un Sueño. — Prosas : Sublevación de Nápoles ; Viaje al Vesubio; Viaje a las Ruinas de Pesto; Los Hércules; El Hospedador de Provincia; El Ventero; Discursos [30 de Mayo de 1819; de Recepción leído en la R. A. Española, 29 de Octubre de 1834; de Recepción leído en la R. A. de la Historia, 24 de Abril de 1853]; Breve Reseña de la historia del reino de las Dos Sicilias.)

1889. Don Alvaro, o la Fuerza del Sino, Madrid, 1889

1894-1904. (H. T.) Obras completas de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. (T.) Colección de Escritores Castellanos. Obras completas de D. Angel de Saavedra Duque de Rivas, Director que fué de la Real Academia Española, Presidente de la de Bellas Artes de San Fernando e Individuo de número de la de la Historia, Coleccionadas de nuevo por su hijo D. Enrique de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. Tomo I. Prólogo — Biografía — Poesías varias — El Paso Honroso, poema caballeresco (Fig.). Madrid, Est. Tipográfico « Sucesores de Rivadeneyra », Paseo de San Vicente, 20, 1894. Líricos; Vol. I, pp. 486; Vol. II (1895), pp. 497;

Vol. III (1897), pp. 546; Vol. IV (1898), pp. 442; Vol. V (1900), pp. 428; Vol. VI (1902), pp. 401; Vol. VII (1904), pp. 505.

(Contents : Vol. I, as above; Vol. II, Poesías varias; Florinda, poema; Vol. III, El Moro Expósito; Vol. IV, Romances históricos; Vol. V, Tragedias y Leyendas [Arias Gonzalo; Lanuza; Leyendas : prólogo de Ochoa; La Azucena Milagrosa, Maldonado, El Aniversario]; Vol. VI, Dramas y Comedias [Advertencia y carta de Pacheco; Tanto vales cuanto tienes; Don Alvaro o la Fuerza del Sino]; Vol. VII, Dramas y Comedias [Solaces de un prisionero o tres noches de Madrid, comedia; La Morisca de Alajuar, comedia; El Crisol de la Lealtad, drama].

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(Edited, with introduction and notes, by Cipriano de Rivas Cherif, in the series *Clásicos castellanos*.)

No date. D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas. Don Alvaro o la Fuerza del Sino (Portrait of author). La Novela Ilustrada. Oficinas : Olmo, 4. Madrid, pp. 159.

No date. Solaces de un prisionero. Part of the *Biblioteca Clásica*. Preceded by an Estudio histórico del Duque de Rivas.

II

TRANSLATIONS OF THE WORKS

(a) *Into Italian.*

- 1844.** Un' Anticaglia di Siviglia; romanzo storico di Don Angelo di Saavedra, Duca di Rivas. Traduzione libera del C. Bartolommeo Secco Suardo, Milano, 1844.
- 1844.** El Moro Expósito. Traduzione di Francesco Gomez de Cerán y Negrete, Napoli, 1844.
- 1846.** Romanzi storici. Traduzione di Francesco Gomez de Cerán y Negrete. Napoli, 1844.
- 1848.** Don Alvarò. Traduzione di Francesco Gomez de Cerán y Negrete (In prose. Part of *Teatro Moderno Spagnollo*), 1848.

(b) *Into French.*

- 1849.** Insurrection de Naples en 1647, Étude historique de Don Angel de Saavedra, Duc de Rivas, Ambassadeur d'Espagne près S. M. le Roi des Deux-Sicules. Ouvrage traduit de l'espagnol et précédé d'une intro-

duction par le baron Léon d'Hervey de Saint-Denys.
Paris, Amyot, 1849. 2 tom.

(Contains an introductory letter from Rivas, in Spanish, which is said to have been written for inclusion in the book and is dated from Naples, March 15 1849.

The translator's introduction deals partly with the events of the history and partly with the career of Rivas, which last it describes with several inexactitudes.)

III

COMMENTARIES AND CRITICAL ESTIMATES OF VALUE

- 1835.** L. A. C. (L. A. de Cueto) : « Examen del D. Alvaro o la Fuerza del Sino » (Sevilla, May 15 1835) in *El Artista*, Vol. III, pp. 106-8, 110-4.
- 1840.** Eugenio de Ochoa : *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritores españoles contemporáneos en prosa y verso*. Paris, Baudry, 1840, 2 vol. (Vol. II, pp. 693-6, Biography of Rivas, followed by « El faro de Malta » and « El Fratricidio »; pp. 697-704.)
- 1841.** Enrique Gil y Carrasco, in *El Pensamiento*, 1841 : Article on Rivas' *Romances históricos*, reprinted in *Obras en prosa*, Vol. II, pp. 146-165, Madrid, 1883.
- 1841.** Nicomedes Pastor Diaz and Francisco de Cárdenas : Biography of Rivas, in Vol. I of *Galería de Españoles célebres contemporáneos*.
- 1843.** George Borrow : *The Bible in Spain, — the Journeys Adventures and Imprisonments of an Englishman*. (Pp. 133-145 in edition of 1893, London, T. Nelson.)
- 1844.** Fermín Gonzalo Morón : Article on « El Duque de Rivas considerado como poeta dramático » in *Revista*

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1845. Gavino Tejado : Article in *El Siglo Pintoresco*, 1845, Vol. I, pp. 220-6.
1846. Charles de Mazade : « Poètes modernes de l'Espagne. Le Duc de Rivas », in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1846, pp. 321-354.
1846. Antonio Ferrer del Río : *Galería de la literatura española*, 1846.
1849. Manuel Cañete : Study of *Historia de la Sublevación de Nápoles*, in *El Heraldó*, 1849.
1854. Gerónimo Borao : Article in *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos*, 1854, Vol. II, pp. 801-842.
1854. Juan Valera : *Florilegio de poetas castellanas del siglo XIX*, Vol. I, pp. 88-105. Also Article in *Revista Española de Ambos Mundos*, 1854, Vol. II, pp. 619-20.
1854. Juan Martínez Villergas : *Juicio crítico de los poetas españoles contemporáneos*, Paris, 1854, pp. 167-170.
1865. Antonio María Alcalá Galiano : *Apuntes para la biografía del Excmo. Sr. D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, escritos por él mismo*, Madrid, 1865. (A few notes on important events in the life of Rivas, *passim*.)
1866. José Amador de los Ríos : « Discurso en elogio del Duque de Rivas » (In *Discursos leídos en las recepciones y actos públicos celebrados por la Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando*.)
1867. Nicomedes Pastor Díaz (*Obras de D...*), Madrid, Manuel Tello, 1867 : Article entitled « Don Angel de

Saavedra, Duque de Rivas : *Biografía* » (Vol. III, pp. 199-279), followed by an appendix (pp. 279-284) which summarises the period 1854-1866 and is signed Benito Vicens y Gil de Tejada (Madrid, 13 de marzo de 1867).

1870. L. A. de Cueto, Marqués de Valmar : « Discurso necrológico literario en elogio del Duque de Rivas », in *Memorias de la Academia Española*, Madrid, 1870, Vol. II, pp. 498-601.
1876. Romualdo Álvarez Espino : *Ensayo histórico-crítico del teatro español desde su origen hasta nuestros días*, Cádiz, 1876, pp. 320-333.
1883. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, in *Nuestro Siglo*, Reseña histórica de Otto von Leixner, traducida y ampliada por D. M. M. P. Barcelona, 1883.
1884. Manuel Cañete : *Escritores españoles e hispano-americanos... El Duque de Rivas*, etc. Madrid, 1884.
(Largely composed with the aid of the shorter studies noticed under I above.)
1886. Antonio Alcalá Galiano : *Memorias de D. Antonio Alcalá Galiano, publicadas por su hijo*. Madrid, 1886, 2 vol.
(Incorporates the *Apuntes* of 1865, and contains a few further notes on Rivas' life.)
- 1887-9. Juan Valera : *Crítica literaria*, 1887-9 (Vol. XXVII, of his collected works), pp. 71-196. (Cf. *El Ateneo*, Vol. I, Dec. 1888, Jan, Feb. 1889,)
1888. Francisco Blanco García : « Triunfo del Romanticismo ! El Duque de Rivas » in *La Ciudad de Dios*, Vol. XV, pp. 452-9, 529-40.

1892. Juan Moreno Barranco : *Apuntes biográficos y consideraciones literarias en honor de D. Angel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas*, Córdoba, 1892.
1896. Ramón Menéndez Pidal : *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Madrid, 1896.
1896. A. Guichot y Sierra : *La Montaña de los Angeles* Monografía histórico-crítica. Sevilla, 1896.
1899. E. Funes : *Don Alvaro, estudio crítico*, Cádiz, 1899. (Reprinted from the *Diario de Cádiz*.)
1904. E. Piñeyro : *El Romanticismo en España*, Paris, 1904, pp. 51-93.
1905. Narciso José de Liñán y Heredia : « Los Duques de Rivas, Angel y Enrique, como poetas », in *La España Moderna*, 1905, pp. 111-129.
1916. « Azorín » : *Rivas y Larra, razón social del romanticismo en España*, Madrid, 1916.
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APPENDIX I

TABULAR SUMMARY OF THE WORKS
GENERALLY CONSIDERED AS SOURCES
OF THE
MORO EXPÓSITO

I : PRELIMINARIES.

Moro Exposito	AMBROSIO DE MORALES : <i>Crónica General.</i> Book XVI, chap. XLVI.	MARIANA Book VIII, chap. ix
[Note : A fuller summary of the poem is given on pp. 224-7 above.] Names of the seven sons : Diego, Martín, Fernando, Suero, Enrico, Veremundo, Gonzalo.	Descent of the seven sons of Lara : confusion in various accounts of it. <i>Begins :</i> « Ninguno de nuestros prelados antiguos hace mencion de los siete infantes de Lara, ni se halla sino es en la corónica general del rey Don Alonso, y en los que del tomaron despues. » He mentions as other sources « las genealogías del conde don Pedro » and Garibay. Fernan Gonzalez, Diego Gonzalez, Martin Gomez, Suero Gustios, Ruy Gomez, y los dos postreros ambos Gonzalo Gonzalez.	Descent of the seven sons of Lara.

HURTADO VELARDE	MATOS FRAGOSO [Act I.]	SEPÚLVEDA Romances I, III.	LOPE DE VEGA
	Gonzalo Bustos is the grandson of King Ramiro of León.		
Suer, Martin, Diego. ernan, Rodrigo, ustos, Gonzalo.			Fernando, Alvaro, Ordoño, Alonso, Diego, Nuño, Gon- zalo.

II : THE QUARREL WITH ALVAR SANCHEZ.

Moro Exposito [Pp. 111-131]	Crónica General. XVI, XLVI.	MARIANA VIII, 12.
Wedding of Rui-Velázquez and D^a Lambra at Burgos. Description. Lara and his sons invited Rui-Velázquez treats them with (suspicious) courtesy. A joust is arranged (111-113). Álvaro Sánchez, D^a Lambra's cousin. His great height. He challenges all comers. Lara warns his sons not to take part in the contest (113-114). Circumstantial account of the events leading up to the young Gonzalo Gustios' encounter with Álvaro Sánchez, and of the encounter itself. Álvaro Sánchez is beaten (114-123. N. B. He is <i>not</i> killed). D^a Lambra sends her jester to insult the victor. He throws a green cucumber at him. Indignation of all. Gonzalo runs him through with his lance. Rui-Velázquez cries « Vengeance ». Confusion. Lara realises the treachery of Rui-Velázquez. Skirmish. Rui-Velázquez wounded : his rage. The archbishop stops the fight (123-7). Popular excitement (127-9). Agreement that the principal parties in the quarrel shall not return to the court for a year (129-130). Ratification of the agreement (130-1).	Wedding of Rodrigo Velázquez and Doña Lambra at Burgos. Great concourse of people. The jousts. The « lanzar a tablado » explained. « Andando en esta fiesta riñeron malamente por la honra della Gonzalo Gonzalez el menor de los siete infantes, y Alvar Sanchez, primo hermano de la novia Doña Lambra ». (No further detail.) The count and Gonzalo Gustios make peace between the two, but Doña Lambra still cherishes rancour against the <i>infantes</i> for insulting her cousin. She sends a servant to throw a cucumber filled with blood at Gonzalo in the garden at Barbadillo, where she was staying with her husband and sister-in-law. The <i>infantes</i> kill the servant « en las faldas de Doña Lambra, donde se había acogido ». She complains to her husband, who promises her vengeance.	Wedding of Ruy Velázquez and D^a Lambra at Burgos. Great concourse. Gonzalo Gustio and his sons invited. « Encendióse una cuestion por pequeña ocasion entre Gonzalo, el menor de los siete hermanos, y un pariente de doña Lambra, que se defendió Alvar Sanchez, sin que sucediese algun daño notable... » (No further detail.) D^a Lambra sends a slave to throw a cucumber filled with blood at Gonzalo, at Barbadillo, « hasta donde los hermanos por honralla la acompañaron ». They kill the slave in D^a Lambra's lap, whither he had run for protection. Ruy-Velázquez is absent (« que á la sazón se hallaba ausente ocupado en cosas de importancia »). When he returns he is enraged and begins to plot vengeance on the brothers.

HURTADO, VELARDE [Act I.]	MATOS FRAGOSO [Act I.]	SEPÚLVEDA [Romances I, III.]	LOPE DE VEGA [Act. I.]
The play opens with the lament of D^a Alambra over the corpse of Alvar Sanchez. Quarrel between Ruy-Velázquez and Gonzalvillo. The Count makes peace and leads Gonzalvillo away. D^a Alambra tells her gardener to throw a green cucumber at Gonzalvillo, who kills the miscreant and reproaches D^a Alambra for inciting him. She laments the « insult » and tells Ruy-Velázquez of it, who swears he will never rest till he is avenged. This takes place at Barbadillo where D^a Sancha and her sons are Ruy-Velázquez' guests.	Gonzalvico, Bustos' youngest son, has killed the brother-in-law of his (B's) cousin, Ruy-Velázquez. [Related in act I.] Gonzalvico comes in fighting with Ruy-Velázquez. The count of Castile reconciles them.	Wedding of Ruy Velázquez and D^a Lambra. Gonzalo Gustios and his seven sons are invited. [They were brought up by Nuño Salido.] Alvar Sánchez, D^a Lambra's cousin. His great prowess with the <i>tablado</i>. D^a Lambra boasts about it to D^a Sancha. She and her sons laugh at it and Gonzalo, the youngest son, tries his skill with even greater success. Delight of D^a Sancha and her sons : disgust of D^a Lambra. Alvar Sanchez insults Gonzalo and they come to blows ; Gonzalo strikes his opponent dead. Grief of D^a Lambra. Her laments are heard by Ruy-Velázquez who attacks Gonzalo twice. The two are reconciled by the Count and Gustios and Ruy-Velázquez feigns friendship. D^a Lambra tells her servant to fill a cucumber with blood and throw it at Gonzalo. He does so, and runs to her for protection. The <i>infantes</i> slay him before her eyes, in spite of her protests. The dead servant is laid out with ceremony and all weep over him. Ruy-Velázquez arrives and is very angry when he hears of it.	Seven weeks wedding festivities of D^a Lambra. Bustos and seven sons present. News comes that the Moor Almanzor is attacking the Castilian frontier. Ruy-Velázquez is sent against him. Alvar Sanchez, D^a Lambra's brother, is killed in a quarrel with Gonzalo González. Ruy-Velázquez beats him, and Gonzalo, at first refraining, afterwards returns a blow. Two of his brothers join him, and the quarrel is getting serious when the Count and Bustos make it up. D^a Lambra tells Estébañez to throw a cucumber filled with blood at Gonzalo. Shortly afterwards he comes flying to her for protection and the <i>infantes</i> kill him under her eyes. D^a Lambra's laments. Ruy-Velázquez' return for vengeance ; he finds that the <i>infantes</i> have gone. When they re-enter Ruy Velázquez dissembles and the quarrel is apparently made up.

III : THE SENDING OF LARA TO CÓRDOBA.

Moro Exposito [Pp. 141-157.]	<i>Cronica General.</i> XVI, XLVI.	MARIANA (Book VIII, chap. 11)
[Lara warns Zaide of the plot against him. He returns to Córdoba. Great indignation. The plot in detail, 141-150.] Rui-Velázquez gets Lara sent to Córdoba as ambassador in order to avenge himself. [Plot (above) explains embassy] (150-2). A Jewish confidant is sent beforehand by Rui-Velázquez. He sees Giafar and returns to Burgos (153). Lara arrives and presents himself to Hixcén. Giafar sees opportunity of avenging himself [see Romance II]. He will not kill him lest he become a martyr, but do worse. He makes great show of respect to him. Armistice proclaimed. Lara, satisfied, wishes to return, but is delayed on a pretext. Zaide is sent away (153-6). News of great Moorish victories arrives, then of Christian victory, before armistice can be proclaimed. Giafar has Lara imprisoned and his suite killed (156-7).	Rodrigo sends Gonzalo Gustios to Córdoba « con cartas de negocios importantes que le comunicó... y la carta que escribía á Almanzor, que era su amigo, no contenía mas de que en llegando á él Gonzalo Gustios, le cortase la cabeza, porque así convenia ». Gustios is entirely without suspicion of treachery. « Espantóle al moro tan grande alevosía como la que leyó en la carta, y aunque infiel y bárbaro, se movió con lástima, de quien con tanta hidalguía servía a su señor y deudo : y mostrándole á Gonzalo Gustios la carta, le dijo estuviese seguro, que él nunca ejecutaria tan gran maldad, como don Rodrigo habia comedido. Y contento con tenerlo preso cortesmente, le hizo regalar y dar todo contento en la prision. »	Ruy-Velázquez feigns goodwill. He gets Gustio sent to Córdoba : « la vozera para cobrar ciertos dineros que el Rey bárbaro había prometido ; la verdad para que fuese muerto lejos de su patria. » Ruy Velázquez sends the Moorish king « cartas... en arábigo » suggesting that he should kill Gustio. The king's motives in not killing Gustio « ó por compasión que tuvo á las canas de hombre tan principal, ó por dar muestra de su benignidad, no le quiso matar ». He puts him in prison straightway.

HURTADO VELARDE [Act I.]	MATOS FRAGOSO [Act I.]	SEPÚLVEDA [Romance III.]	LOPE DE VEGA [Acts I, II.]
efore the cucumber episode.] Ruy-Velázquez accepts Busto's rebuke for his treatment of Gonzalvillo, and then asks him if he will write a letter from him to Almanzor. Nuño Alido expresses his misgivings. Ruy-Velázquez makes a Moorish servant write Almanzor a letter in Arabic asking him to kill both father and sons (when the letters are delivered into his power). Then he stabs the Moor for the sake of secrecy. Bustos gives the letter to the « Rey Moro » (Almanzor) who on reading it has him seized. Bustos protests and Almanzor is moved to pity. They discuss the letter. The Queen and Arlaja, the king's sister, enter; it is the Queen's birthday and they beg for Bustos' freedom. This, says the king, is impossible, but he shall be imprisoned and Arlaja shall be his gaoler.	Gonzalo Bustos is sent to Córdoba to suggest a truce. He confides his misgivings concerning Ruy-Velázquez to his seven sons. Ruy-Velázquez sends Almanzor by Bustos a letter which recommends him to put him to death. Bustos arrives with the letter. Almanzor tells Bustos he must die, but Arlaja begs his life because it is her birthday. Almanzor grants it but sends Bustos to the tower instead.	Rui-Velázquez asks Gustios to go to Córdoba for him, as king Almanzor has promised him some money to help pay the heavy expenses of the wedding. Gustios agrees, and Rui-Velázquez then calls a Moor and gets him to write a letter, telling Almanzor to take Gustios' life and that he will also deliver to him the seven sons. Then he kills the Moor and gives Gustios the letter. Almanzor, when he gets the letter, tells Gustios the contents: he refuses to be a party to « such villainy ». He imprisons him, commending him to his (A's) sister.	Ruy-Velázquez persuades Bustos to go to Almanzor with a message which proves to be betraying Castile, advising him to kill the bearer, and he will deliver the seven <i>infantes</i> to him also. He then kills the Moor who had written the letter for him. Bustos arrives at the court of Almanzor and presents the letter. Almanzor tells him the contents but will grant him his life, though he must imprison him. Bustos soliloquises on his lot. Arlaja comes to the prison and tells Bustos that she has been made his warder, as a sign of Almanzor's favour. She shows marked kindness to him.

IV : THE MURDER OF THE SEVEN SONS OF LARA.

Moro Exposito [Pp. 158-161.]	<i>Cronica General.</i> XVI, XLVI.	MARIANA (Book VIII, chap. ix.)
The news of Lara's imprisonment reaches Burgos, together with the false news of his treachery. Indignation of the seven sons. They swear to free him. They disregard Nuño's warnings (158-9). Giafar offers peace to Rui-Velázquez in exchange for the heads of the seven sons of Lara (160). The seven sons fight bravely but Giafar has sent a fierce warrior to kill them, and he is in league with two traitors suborned by Velázquez ! (160-1).	Ruy-Velázquez promises Almanzor aid in Leon and Castilla if he will send a large force of men to kill the <i>infantes</i>. Almanzor sends a body of ten thousand men. Ruy-Velázquez arranges that the seven sons of Gustios are taken into Moorish territory and left alone with only two hundred followers. They fight bravely against the Moors who surround them, « quedando muerto Hernan Gonzalez el mayor dellos con su ayo Nuño Salido ». They send for reinforcements to Ruy-Velázquez who not only refuses them but prevents a body of men from going when they wished to. A small force goes against his will and fights day after day with the <i>infantes</i> against the Moors. Eventually the <i>infantes</i> are slain and their heads, with Nuño's, sent to Almanzor. « Su perverso tio habiendo hecho tan abominable traicion, se volvió a Castilla muy contento, como si hubiera alcanzado una gran victoria de los moros. » « Los cuerpos de los infantes, recogidos por algunos leales caballeros, fueron llevados á Castilla, y enterrados en el monasterio de San Pedro de Arlanza .. »	The seven sons, quite unsuspecting, take no heed of Nuño Salido's attempts to keep them from the new movement against the Moors near Almenara. Ruy-Velázquez, not content with his vengeance on Gustio, leads the seven sons into an ambush, under pretext of attacking the Moors. Description of the skirmish : the 200 Christians are outnumbered by the Moors. The brothers' valour : they fight bravely, resolve to sell their lives dearly, kill many, and do honour to their lineage. They die, all seven, and with them Salido, their ayo.

HURTADO VELARDE [Act II.]	MATOS FRAGOSO [Act II.]	SEPÚLVEDA [Romances IV, IX.]	LOPE DE VEGA [Act II.]
Ruy-Velázquez betrays the <i>infantes</i> to the Moors. Nuño warns them of his treachery. Nuño is slain first, and finally after many prodigies of valour, especially by Gonzalvillo, the <i>infantes</i> are slain also. [Note : This part of the story occupies a large portion of Act II, but the actual deaths of the seven sons are not represented on the stage.]	Gonzalvico has a disturbing dream, presaging disaster. Almanzor concludes an agreement with Ruy-Velázquez for the exchange of certain castles against the heads of the seven sons of Bustos. Ruy-Velázquez, plotting to betray the seven boys, leads them out to a great battle against the Moors. They are suddenly surprised when alone. They learn of Ruy-Velázquez' plot. Ruy-Velázquez appears; the boys ask for their lives and are refused. They die fighting. Their heads are taken to Almanzor.	Rui-Velázquez asks the <i>infantes</i> to make an attack with him on the Moors. They agree, but Nuño Salido is ill at ease and warns them against going. Gonzalo is especially scornful of his advice. Rui-Velázquez meets the <i>infantes</i> with a great show of cordiality. He has a difference with Gonzalo. Ten thousand Moors attack the <i>infantes</i> and their party of two hundred. Nuño hears the treacherous command of Rui-Velázquez. A fierce struggle follows. Fernan González and all the party are killed. The six <i>infantes</i> fight on. Diego asks for a truce. Rui-Velázquez avows his treachery and its motive. At last the seven <i>infantes</i> and Nuño Salido lie dead upon the field; Gonzalo, the youngest, is the bravest and dies last. The heads are sent to Almanzor, who is moved with pity. He washes the heads with wine and spreads them on a cloth on the floor.	Almanzor, in accordance with Rui-Velázquez' instructions in his letter, sends two captains to take the <i>infantes</i>. Ruy-Velázquez pretends to try to restrain them from going against the Moors. Gonzalo naturally insists on going. The ambush [in great detail]. The seven <i>infantes</i> with Nuño Salido fight gallantly against overwhelming odds. Gonzalo appears alone and makes a declamatory speech. The <i>infantes</i> are all killed in battle and their heads are sent to Córdoba. Ruy-Velázquez tells Doña Lambra of the deed.

V : THE IMPRISONMENT OF LARA : ZAHIRA : DISCOVERY OF HIS SONS' FATE

Moro Exposito [Pp. 161-171.]	<i>Crónica General.</i> XVI, XLVI.	MARIANA (Book VIII, chap. 12)
One day Lara hears to his amazement that he is free and that Giafar has sent for him. The journey to Giafar's room described. Giafar tells him that peace has been concluded, and he may go. But first he will make him a present (161-2). He shews him a richly adorned table, and pointing to his « present » (the heads of his seven sons) watches him (163). The heads are in a row, arranged in order of age; horrible and disfigured, but all recognisable. Lara is at first struck dumb; detailed description of his movements. He names the dead sons one by one, Gonzalo twice. He takes up Gonzalo's head and kisses the cheek: then overcome by the fetid smell and the chill falls in a swoon, and the head falls with him and leaves a stain of putrefying black blood on the carpet (!) (163-5). [N. B. Slaves, by Giafar's orders, watch this scene: evidently this is put in to explain Zaide's knowledge of what took place.] Lara is carried to a castle of Rui-Velázquez and imprisoned there for twenty years (166-71). The story of the visit of Zahira, Almanzor's sister, to Lara in prison, before he knows his sons' fate. He gives her a ring, in token of his love and of his willingness to recognise any fruit of their union. Birth of Mudarra. Zaide takes him to where he will be found (168-171).	« Almanzor envió las cabezas de los infantes y de su ayo á Gonzalo Gustios en la prision donde estaba, para que las reconociese, y habiendo hecho el viejo padre gran llanto sobre ellas, al moro le pareció ir á consolarlo, y despues de buenas palabras le dió libertad, y con muchos dones le dejó volver á Salas, tierra de su señorio. » Almanzor for pity has allowed Moorish ladies, and among them his sister, to visit Gustios in prison. [Morales thinks she was <i>not</i> made his guardian as some authorities say.] « Resultó dejarse vencer (Gustios) de su amor, y quedar preñada dél cuando se volvió a Castilla. » They divide a ring so that the unborn child shall be able to find him (Gustios) in the future.	« Verdades que sucedió en provecho suyo en alguna manera, ca el Rey, por compasion que le tuvo, le dejó ir libre á su tierra. » « Las cabezas enviaron á Córdoba en presente agradable para aquel Rey; pero muy triste para su padre viejo, ca se las hicieron mirar y reconocer sin embargo que llegaron podridas y desfiguradas. » « Era la prision algo libre, con que cierta hermana del rey tuvo entrada para comunicalle. Desta conversacion dicen que nació Mudarra Gonzalez... »

HURTADO VELARDE	MATOS FRAGOSO [Act II.]	SEPÚLVEDA [Romances IX, X.]	LOPE DE VEGA [Act II.]
An <i>alcaide</i> comes for Bustos to dine with Almanzor. Bustos thanks Almanzor for this favour. A covered table is brought, and the two sit down to it. Almanzor tells Bustos that he is anxious to shew him a « present » of eight heads which has been sent him from the battle-field, to see if he recognises them. [Stage direction]: <i>Ponen las ocho cabezas por su orden, y alzan una cortina, como que están cortadas junto adonde está Gonzalo Bustos.</i> « O válgame Dios del cielo! » says Bustos, and swoons. On recovery he breaks into a long lament, naming the sons in order, Gonzalo last of all. After this lament he kills a guard and has to be bound. [We learn beforehand that Bustos has seen Arlaja at the window. Her love for him is also made clear.] In Act II we find that Arlaja is with child by Bustos, who gives her half his ring, and says it is to be given to his « son or daughter » when born, that the child may seek him.	Gonzalo Bustos is seen in chains, lamenting his sons' probable fate, which he has suspected (cf. II 1 above). [Arlaja enters, see below.] Almanzor comes to set Bustos free, since the « danger is now past ». He takes him for a walk in the gardens; music plays; they sit down. « The Christians, says Almanzor, have sent me a valuable present, which I will give you. » (Stage direction): <i>Ponen las siete cabezas por su orden, como que están cortadas, y alzan una cortina junto adonde está Gonzalo Bustos.</i> All but Almanzor go. « Válgame el Cielo mil veces! » says Bustos. He then breaks into a long lament, naming six of the sons, and saying more of Gonzalvico than of the rest. [This situation is prepared in Act I by Arlaja's having previously fallen in love with Bustos.] In Act II Arlaja complains to Bustos that he despises her love. After the lament of Bustos (see above) she returns to console him and to say that a horse is waiting to take him to Castile. In Act III birth of Mudarra. He is given out as a foundling. His destiny is to go to Castile and find his father.	Almanzor visits Gonzalo Gustios and tells him that seven heads of youths and one of an old man have been brought to him. He does not recognise them: would Gustios do so? Gustios goes to see them and falls to the ground in a swoon, crying that they are his sons'. [N. B. No lament or naming of sons.] Almanzor tries to comfort him when he comes to himself; frees him; and gives him presents. Almanzor's sister tells Gustios of the coming birth of his child. He gives her half of a ring and tells her when the child is old enough to send him to Salas to find him.	Bustos and Arlaja are seen together. Bustos speaking of his sons. Almanzor sends to invite Bustos to dine with him. He goes, and one of the captains tells Arlaja of the ambush. Almanzor tells Bustos that he has won a great victory and that eight heads (<i>sic</i>) (i. e. with Nuño's) have been brought him. He has been told they are from Salas, and wishes to know if Bustos recognises them. (Stage direction): <i>Descúbrense en una mesa las siete cabezas, con la invención que se suele, en siete partes.</i> (It is Arlaja who draws the curtain.) Bustos breaks out into a lyrical lament (in octaves) in which he names the sons in order. He does not swoon in this version. Almanzor frees him, tells him to return to Castile, and leaves him with Arlaja. Arlaja tells Bustos of the coming birth of his child. If it is a boy, he says, send him to Castile when he is grown that he may be baptized. He gives her half his ring as a means of identification.

VI : THE RESOLVE AND JOURNEY OF MUDARRA.

Moro Exposito	<i>Crónica General</i> XVII, xx.	MARIANA (Book VIII, chap. xi.)
Mudarra is twenty years old (167) when Zaide tells him his father's story. He resolves to go to Burgos and avenge his father (167, 172-4). He learns the story of his birth (168 ff.). Zahira has died many years since. Zaide gives him the seven heads, embalmed, in a box, in which he enshrined them when he planted the seven cypresses (174-5). The feelings of Mudarra (175-6). Mudarra's journey.	In about his nineteenth year, the child of Gustios and Almanzor's sister (Mudarra) resolves to seek out his father. His qualities (see page 245) and early life. The Moorish king allows him to go and avenge his brothers, and he leaves with a huge retinue. He journeys through Moorish territory to Salas.	Mudarra learns the story, at the age of fourteen. His mother is still alive. « Por persuasión de su madre se va para su padre y adelante vengó las muertes de sus hermanos con dalla á Ruy-Velázquez, causa de aquel daño. »

HURTADO VELARDE [Act III.]	MATOS FRAGOSO [Act III.]	SEPÚLVEDA [Romance XI.]	LOPE DE VEGA [Act III.]
Mudarra is nearly wenty. He wants o find his father. Arlaja would have him wait one year more. But Mudarra begs her to let him go. She tells him his story.	The story of Mu- darra's early years is told by Arlaja to a confidant. His qua- lities : his great cou- rage, Almanzor's love for him. He knows the whole story. Mudarra makes his appearance, ordering some Christian pri- soners to be set free. Almanzor chi- des him. Arlaja tells him to go to Castile with a servant of his fa- ther's.	Mudarra is born. He is both valiant and virtuous : He is kni- ghted at the age of ten. His mother re- lates to him his ori- gin. He is deter- mined to avenge his half-brothers. His mother gives him the half-ring.	We find Mudarra and Almanzor play- ing chess. They quarrel. Almanzor calls Mudarra « Bas- tard ! » He, enraged, asks Arlaja to tell him his story. He determines to avenge his half-bro- thers, and refuses to wait a year as Arlaja asks.

VII : THE MEETING OF MUDARRA AND HIS FATHER.

Moro Exposito [Pp. 221-330.]	<i>Crónica General.</i>	MARIANA (Book VIII, chap. ix.)
[Long introduction in Romances VI, VII. Description of Lara's ruined palace. Return of Lara, old and blind, after his long imprisonment. He is recognised, acclaimed and feasted. He relates his story. Nuño who accompanies him does likewise. Cry of « Moors! ». Approach of Zaide and Mudarra. Mudarra is taken for Gonzalo. (221-294). Lara is talking outside the palace, with Nuño, surrounded by his retinue. The crowd and the strangers approach. « This is your father. » Mudarra embraces Lara, and Nuño Zaide. Lara swoons, and is carried into the palace. Attempts to bring him round at last succeed. He welcomes Mudarra again, wishing that his sight might be restored to him. Recognises by touch his Moorish dress and begs that he will renounce Mohammedanism (295-9). Mudarra declares his intention of avenging Lara, who protests, saying that his enemies are forgiven. They debate the question. Zaide cries that Mudarra is God's chosen instrument of vengeance. Lara then acquiesces. General rejoicings. The ring is given to Lara (299-304). Arrival of the Count with Rui-Velázquez to know why Moors are there. Mudarra challenges the latter, who calls him a bastard. « No, for both his mother and I were free » says Lara. « And I will legitimize him », says the Count. The legitimization ceremony (327-8) (305-330).	Likeness of Mudarra to Gonzalo. « Allí reconoció a su padre, y él le conoció por la media sortija. » Mudarra, « no queriendo poner dilacion en la venganza de sus hermanos, se fué luego á Burgos donde se hallaba el conde don Garci Fernandez, y con él Ruiz (<i>sic</i>) Velázquez. El buen cordobés le desafió allí delante el conde, y por quedaba por respuesta sólo hacer escarnio de la persona de Mudarra y su desafío, él con ira de verse menospreciar, arremetió á el su espada desnuda para herirle. Mas detúvole el conde á mucha priesa y para poder tratarse del negocio tan malamente encendido con algun sosiego, les puso treguas por tres dias que mas no pudo alcanzar del infante.	« Prohijóle otrosi doña Sancha, su madrastra. » Then follows description of the adoption ceremony.

HURTADO VELARDE [Act III.]	MATOS FRAGOSO [Act III.]	SEPÚLVEDA [Romance XII.]	LOPE DE VEGA [Act III.]
Bustos, old and blind, is brought out by the squire and placed in the sunlight. Musicians rehearse the tale of Almanzor's « feast » while Bustos sighs and weeps. (<i>Oyense siete piedras, que caen arreo de prisa una tras otra, como que suenan en ventana.</i>) Suddenly the Moors are heard! « And one of them is like Gonzalo! » They enter; Mudarra asks for his father and when Bustos is shewn to him, gives him the half of the ring. Bustos' first thought is that Mudarra should be baptized. Then he asks if he knows that his brothers' murderer is still alive. « Yes », says Mudarra, « I came to avenge you. If he is in Burgos let me go there! » « Patience, my son! » « No, no! » The Count and Ruy-Velázquez enter. Mudarra challenges the latter, who tries to excuse himself, calling Mudarra a bastard. « Not by our law, traitor » replies Mudarra. The Count insists that the challenge shall be accepted and they arrange details.	Bustos' past history is related by a device of the dramatist. He thinks Mudarra dead. Bustos is discovered, old and blind. He bewails that his enemy still lives and throws seven stones a day at his window to remind him of his seven sons. Bustos learns that a band of Moors is around his house. The leader is a boy like Gonzalvico. The servant of Basco relates details of their long journey. Mudarra's heart shews him his father. He cannot for a moment speak. He reveals himself to Bustos, who has not recognised his voice. Bustos recognises now by touch Mudarra's likeness to Gonzalvico. The hands, too, are Diego's; the voice is Fernando's. Mudarra declares his intention of avenging Bustos. They discuss this. Bustos does not [at a later stage] want a fight because of the risk to Mudarra. He pardons Ruy-Velázquez. Arrival of Count with Ruy-Velázquez to know why Moors are there. Mudarra explains and calls Ruy-Velázquez a traitor. « Bastard! » replies he. « Not by the law of Islam » says Mudarra. Ruy-Velázquez' treachery is testified to. Mudarra challenges him « This evening you shall fight », says the Count.	Mudarra arrives at Salas, finds his father and gives him the half-ring. After a few days, Mudarra speaks of revenge. They go to Burgos, where the Count and Ruy-Velázquez are. Mudarra challenges Ruy-Velázquez, who merely denies that he has done any wrong. The Count postpones the fight for three days.	Bustos, old and blind, is discovered with « Nuño criado » (Not Nuño Salido). He retraces his history. The throwing of the seven stones actually occurs on the stage. Bustos can bear all but the seventh. He goes away with Nuño. Entry of Mudarra and Zayde (note name) Mudarra reveals himself to Lope, Gonzalo's squire, who escaped from the ambush years before. D^a Clara, Gonzalo's daughter, appears. It is only after this, and after a lengthy interview between Bustos and Doña Lambra, that Mudarra reveals himself to his father. And this he does by a device, first pretending that he is not himself but his own friend. Suddenly Bustos guesses the truth and embraces him. Lope first speaks of vengeance. (Here comes Ruy-Velázquez' account of his visions.) Ruy-Velázquez enters. Mudarra challenges him, and is only insulted in return. Mudarra defends himself by Moorish law from the accusation of being a bastard. They fight on the spot and go off struggling.

VIII : THE CHALLENGE AND CONTEST WITH RUI-VELAZQUEZ : CONCLUSIO

Moro Exposito	Cronica General.	MARIANA [Book VIII, chap. ix.]
[Romances VIII, IX, X are taken up almost entirely with the earlier history of Rui-Velázquez and the attempts he makes to escape the combat.] Note the vision of the <i>infantes</i> (p. 437).	« El [Mudarra] se volvió luego á Salas con los suyos, mas Ruy-Velázquez se quedó en Burgos buscando disimulacion para irse muy en secreto á Barbadillo. Así partió de noche muy escondido, mas tenía tomado Mudarra Gonzalez el camino, y dando sobre él la emboscada, lo mataron á él y á treinta caballeros de los suyos. »	/
Romance XI is a long and circumstantial account of the combat.	Mudarra becomes a Christian and is baptized. D^a Sancha adopts him. Description of ceremony. « No se pudo por entonces hacer tambien la venganza en la malvada doña Lambra, fiero principio de todos estos males, por ser muy parienta del conde don Garci Fernandez y muy amparada dél; mas tiempo vino despues en que Mudarra la hizo quemar... » Long account of descendants of Mudarra.	[See under VII above.] Bare mention of result of combat only. « Doña Lambra, su mujer, ocasion de todos estos males, fué apedreada y quemada. Con esta venganza que tomó de las muertes de sus hermanos ganó las voluntades de sumadrastra doña Sancha. « ... Mudarra Gonzalez, principio y fundador del linaje nobilísimo en España de los Manriques. » « Hijo de Mudarra fué Ordoño y nieto Diego Ordoñez de Lara, etc. » (Descendants given at length, and the history passes on thence to other matters.)

HURTADO VELARDE [Act. III.]	MATOS FRAGOSO [Act III.]	SEPÚLVEDA [Romance XII.]	LOPE DE VEGA [Act III.]
Ruy-Velázquez goes, and soon afterwards a Moor comes in to say that he is escaping. They go after him. Ruy-Velázquez appears with reins and bit in hand. His horse has thrown him. Mudarra overtakes and reproaches him. Ruy-Velázquez explains the reason for his flight: there are « eight or nine enemies » pursuing him. Mudarra then sees his vision of the <i>infantes</i>. Ruy-Velázquez, terrified, takes to flight again, and Mudarra is alone — the vision has gone. The finding of Ruy-Velázquez' headless body. The entry of the Moors with Mudarra bearing the head, which is presented to Bustos, who miraculously receives his sight. Mudarra is baptised. D^a Alambra is to be burned alive. The episode of D^a Durdina, who marries Mudarra.	Basco remarks at the challenge: « El color Se le ha puesto verdinegro. » Ruy-Velázquez goes, and the news is brought that he is escaping. Mudarra goes after him and brings him back. We see Ruy-Velázquez alone: he soliloquises as to what he can do now. Mudarra enters. They draw. Ruy-Velázquez is killed. Bustos miraculously receives his sight again and Mudarra becomes a Christian.	Ruy-Velázquez, not daring to escape by day, makes off for Barbadillo at night. Mudarra goes after him, comes upon him and fells him to the ground with his thirty followers. Mudarra and his followers return to Salas. They want to burn D^a Lambra alive, but cannot, because she is a kinswoman of the count. Doña Sancha becomes very fond of Mudarra, who becomes a Christian when his brothers are avenged.	Bustos receives his sight again. The count enters to see the miracle, and hears also that Mudarra has appeared, and has killed Ruy-Velázquez in a fight. Mudarra appears, is pardoned by the Count, and asks for baptism.

APPENDIX II

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY OR RELATING TO THE DUQUE DE RIVAS

(MS. in Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, Santander,
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Mi amigo Cañete : tengo que hablar con Vd. sobre una proposición que me han hecho de una edición de mis *obras completas*. Si Vd. tuviera la bondad de pasar por esta su casa esta noche antes de las nueve, se lo agradecería mucho su fino amigo.

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

Miercoles 21.

Mi amigo Cañete : Despues de felicitar a Vd. cordialísimamente por su nuevo destino, que tan bien le cuadra, y que todos aplauden que le haya sido a Vd. conferido, paso a recomendarle al dador D. Juan B. Menero á quien Vd. conoce como *Editor de mis obras*.

Vendió la maquina, en que tiró estas, á ese establecimiento, y desea entenderse con Vd. y que Vd. lo favorezca en el pago de ella, que aun no está corriente.

Tengo grande interes en que se le atienda y en que haga la conclusion de este negocio, y se lo recomiendo a Vd. muy particularísimamente.

Nada añado porque sé que hará Vd. cuanto pueda y sea justo para complacer a su fino amigo y ser^r q. b. s. m.

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

2 de Marzo 1857.

Se le sirvió

SR. D. MANUEL CAÑETE.

Mi querido amigo : Recomiendo a Vd. muy particularmente al dador de esta que lo será D. Francisco Campos, joven de muy buena disposicion, y por quien me intereso mucho. Cualquiera comision ó destino en la vasta dependencia que Vd. dignamente dirige le podría dar pan a su familia. Y en destinarlo de un modo ó de otro, haría Vd. un particular favor a su fino amigo y ser^r q. b. s. m.

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

Martes 7 de abril 1857.

Viernes 3 de

S. D. MANUEL CAÑETE,

Mi estimado amigo : Si no le incomodan a Vd. un par de horas de versos, le ruego me favorezca esta noche antes

de las nueve, para oírme leer un *cuento fantástico*, titulado la Azucena Milagrosa, y encontrará en esta su casa a varios de sus amigos, y al mas fino de todos que lo es

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

Calle del Duque de Alva.

Nº 15.

Viernes II.

SR. D. MANUEL CAÑETE.

Mi querido amigo : Mañana sabado se reunirá en mi casa la tertulia literaria, que recibía nuestro amigo el Marques de Molins, — y espero que Vd. me favorecerá con su asistencia. Y aun será mayor su bondad si se sirve convidar en mi nombre al Sr. Tamayo.

Ya sabe Vd. que traer versos que leer es de rubrica.

De Vd. fino amigo q. b. s. m.

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

Cadiz, 13 de Octubre.

Mi querido Cañete: Es muy probable que el lunes proximo 15 esté en esa con Gonzalo al anochecer. Llegaremos por el camino del puerto, en la góndola, o en coche particular.

Tenga Vd. la bondad de tenernos preparado un *modesto* alojamiento para solo dormir y de esperarnos a nuestra llegada, Vamos Gonzalo y yo solos sin criado ni acompañante.

Mucho desea charlar con Vd. un buen rato su fino amigo

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

Martes.

SR. D. MANUEL CAÑETE.

Mi querido amigo : Mañana a la noche leo en casa del Marques de Molins, por segunda vez, mi leyenda titulada *Maldonado*. Tengo muy grande empeño en que Vd. la oiga, y le ruego que no falte, y que vaya temprano.

Es de Vd. fino apasionado y amigo q. b. s. m.

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

(From Juan Valera to Manuel Cañete.)

Nápoles, 24 de febrero de 1849.

Querido Manuel : Te doy mil gracias por el artículo que has publicado en el Heraldo, elogiando la Historia de mi gefe. Este tambien te lo agradece y me ha dicho que te escribirá. S. E. te quiere mucho, y admirado de ver cuantos autores citas para probar que es buena su historia, piensa que eres un pozo de erudicion; siendo lo que mas ha lisongeadó su amor propio, el que asegures que su obra revela el mas profundo conocimiento del corazon humano, por ser este la mejor cualidad diplomática.

A Dios, él te dé lo que te haga falta, y mejor fortuna á tu amigo

VALERA.

Jueves.

Mi amigo Cañete: Una persona a quien debo atenciones y a quien deseo complacer me ha hecho con el mayor interes

el empeño que indica la adjunta nota; y espero que pondrá Vd. cuanto pueda de su parte para dejarme airoso en esta ocasión.

Segun tengo entendido el negarse el interesado a dar *ciertas gratificaciones indebidas*, es la causa de verse metido en este negocio.

Es de Vd. finísimo amigo

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

Miercoles, 5 de marzo.

SR. D. MANUEL CAÑETE.

Mi estimadísimo amigo : En tanto que pueda dar a Vd. un ejemplar, en buen papel y decente, de mi *Crepusculo de la tarde*, publicado en la Biblioteca Universal, remito a Vd. el adjunto (con devolucion, por estar ya corregido de mi mano) para que tenga la bondad de leerlo, y de escribir algun articulo para el Herald, si es que juzga la obra digna de que la critica se ocupe de ella.

Perdone Vd. esta molestia, y mande a su fino amigo y atento servidor q. b. s. m.

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

El Sabado proximo leeré en su agradable reunion alguna de las composiciones que le doy a examinar, la que Vd. me indique. Memorias de mi hijo.

Napoles, 24 de febrero de 1849.

SR. D. MANUEL CAÑETE.

Muy Sr. mio de mi mayor aprecio : Despues de haber leído el erudito artículo de Vd. sobre mi historia de *la Revolución de Masaniello*, inserto en el Heraldo del 2 del corriente, no puedo menos de tomarme la libertad de manifestar a Vd. por escrito, ya que no puedo de palabra, mi sincera gratitud.

Me honra Vd. demasiado en el juicio que hace de mi obra; y con él ha dado a mi *estudio historico* un realce muy superior al que por si mismo se merece. Aseguro a Vd. pues, que el verme tan favorecido por un crítico de tanta reputación, y que la tiene mas bien de severo, que de indulgente, me ha lisonjeado sobremanera.

El desaliño con que ha aparecido mi trabajo en edicion tan mezquina, descuidada e incorrecta, y el desden con que sus editores lo miran, pues hasta se niegan a imprimir la *fé de erratas* de costumbre, y que reiteradas veces les he rogado publiquen, estan mas que compensados con su artículo de Vd.

Como en él apunta Vd. que algun dia se ocupará de mi *D. Alvaro*, me atrevo a recomendarle otro hijo predilecto, y hasta ahora no muy afortunado. Hablo del *Desengaño en un Sueño*, drama fantástico, impreso, mas no representado, y por lo tanto muy poco conocido. El corte de su aparato teatral ha arredrado a empresas que no reparan en gastos, y que se arruinan gustosas para poner en escena un bayle *frances*, o una opera *italiana*. Y el trabajo material del primer personage del drama, que no abandona la escena durante todo él, expresando siempre encontrados afectos y violentisimas pasiones, ha amedrentado a los primeros actores.

Ya pues que no ha logrado darse a conocer en su propio terreno esto es en el teatro ¿no podría Vd. hacerme el honor

de sacarlo del olvido en que yace en la monstruosa e inmensa *Galeria dramática*, con un artículo, si es que Vd. juzga que la composición lo merece?... ¿Quién sabe?... puede que llamando Vd. en el Heraldo la atención, sobre mi olvidado drama, se excite la codicia de algún empresario, o el amor propio de algún actor, y que salga *el Desengaño en un Sueño* a plaza cuando menos se espere.

Acaso me atrevo a mucho molestando a Vd. con esta petición : acaso sus muchas ocupaciones no le permitirán complacerme : acaso la obra que le recomiendo no merece un artículo crítico. En cualquiera de estos tres casos no debe Vd. hacer ninguno de cuanto le digo en el particular, seguro de que este no alterará en lo mas mínimo el vivo reconocimiento que le profeso por sus elogios a *Masaniello* y por la extrema deferencia con que me ha favorecido.

Al manifestar a Vd. mi gratitud aprovecho la ocasión a ofrecer a Vd. mi amistad, esperando disponga como guste de su atento seguro servidor q. b. s. m.

EL DUQUE DE RIVAS.

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